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THE STEYNING MINT

By HORACE H. KING

STEYNING is to-day a large village or small town in the Hundred of Steyning and the Rape of Bramber, in the Administrative County of West Sussex. It lies in the valley of the Adur, under the downs close beneath Chanctonbury Ring and about six miles from the sea at Shoreham.

St. Cuthman built the first wooden church about the beginning of the eighth century. By Alfred's time it was in the hands of the king, but Edward the Confessor granted it to the Abbey of Fécamp in Normandy. The monks were expelled at the instance of Earl Godwin in 1052, and Harold held it till the Conquest, as is shown by the entry in Domesday Book, "Heraldus tenuit in fine regis E.", for Domesday never refers to Harold as king or to his reign. The Conqueror re-granted it to the Church of Fécamp.

Domesday says: "The Abbot (of Fécamp) himself holds Staninges. In the borough there were 118 masures: they returned £4 and 2s. There are now 123 masures and they return 100s. and 100d." A masura was a house belonging to or going with some land in a borough. It does not say how many burgesses there were or mention burgesses, but we learn that it was a borough and would therefore have the right to a mint with one moneyer under Athelstan's laws passed at the Synod of Grateley about 928. Steyning was evidently a place of much greater importance in those days than now, for the borough returned £4. 2s. in the time of King Edward when Lewes returned £6. 4s. 1½d., and at the time of the survey £5. 8s. 4d. when Lewes returned £8. 2s. 1½d. Indeed, it is said that the town was then one of the largest in England.

There is no mention in Domesday of the mint, and we therefore know that it was not at that time (1086) in the king's hands but in the hands of the abbot, for if it had been in the king's hands there would have been a record of what it produced for the Royal Exchequer.

In Norman times Steyning was a port and ships could anchor there, and no doubt the abbot and monks found it very convenient for crossing to their mother church of Fécamp. But in the middle of the fourteenth century the harbour began to silt up and soon Steyning's importance as a seaport vanished; no doubt this led to the decay of the town.

Steyning sent two representatives to Parliament till the Reform Act of 1832, when as a "rotten borough" it was disfranchised.

To turn to the numismatic history of the town. Ruding did not know of its existence as a mint, no coins of it having turned up in his time, apparently. In the third edition of his *Annals of the Coinage*, published in 1840, in the account contributed by Hawkins of the

Beaworth hoard of 1833, the Steyning coins are assigned to Stepney as well as those of Launceston, though apparently with some mis-giving; which can be well understood when **STNIG** and **STFANI** on the coins have to represent Stibenhede, Stebenhythe, or Stebunhethe, the ancient name of Stepney.

It was not till the second edition of Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*, published in 1876, that Steyning was recognized as a mint, though even then the Launceston coins were transferred from Stepney to Steyning as well, despite the almost equal difficulty of reconciling with **STANINGES**, as with Stebenhythe, the **STFANI** and **STEFNI** of the coins. It was not till Major Carlyon-Britton pointed out in 1907, in vol. iii of our *Journal*, the existence of the Launceston mint that they were correctly attributed.

CNUT

The first coin of Steyning we know of is of Cnut, BMC xiv, Hild. G, and is in the Swedish Royal Cabinet. The moneyer is **PVDIA** or **PIDIA**. It appears to be unique, but that is a dangerous word to use, for no sooner has one stated that a coin is unique than another one turns up.

Of Cnut, BMC xvi, Hild. H, we have seven coins, three by Widia, three by Frithiwine (**Pl., No. 1**), and one by Ecrie. I am doubtful about the one by Ecrie, which is in the British Museum and Stockholm, as it reads **STEC** or **STAEC**, a form of the mint-name never used elsewhere in the series, and suggests that there were two moneyers working together, unless Ecrie followed Widia and was followed very shortly indeed by Frithiwine. There may, however, have been two moneyers, though Athelstan's laws would only have allowed one, for on one occasion later, and possibly two, as we shall see, there appear to be two at work at once.

There are no coins that I know of of BMC xvii, Hild. I.

HAROLD I

Of Harold I we have only two coins, both in the Stockholm Museum and both of BMC v, var. c, Hild. B. They are both by Frithiwine and differ only in the reading of **REX** on the obverse. There appear to be none of BMC i, Hild. A, known.

HARTHACNUT

The British Museum has the only specimen of Harthacnut that I know of. It is by Frithiwine and is of BMC i a, Hild. Aa (**Pl., No. 2**). According to Mr. Parsons's arrangement of the coins of this reign, this was minted in the first half of Harthacnut's reign over all England.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

The coins of Steyning of Edward the Confessor begin with one of Frithiwine of BMC iii, type III in the late Major Carlyon-Britton's

arrangement of the types of this reign, but given by the late Dr. Brooke as the first and now, I think, generally admitted to be such. This coin was in Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton's collection and is now in mine, and reads *EDPERD REX* and *FRIÐEINE ONN STEN* (Pl., No. 3). Of BMC i, C-B II, we have no specimen, but from now on to the Conquest we have a continuous series of coins in all types.

Hitherto, in reliance on Major Carlyon-Britton and Dr. Brooke, it has been accepted that the order of the following types was BMC ii, iv, v; but in the course of preparing this paper I have come across evidence which proves conclusively, I think, that it was iv, ii, v. Mr. D. F. Allen called my attention to a coin in Hildebrand of BMC iv, given under Stamford (which explains my overlooking it), which reads *FRIÐEPINE ON ST*. This must be of Steyning, for no Frithiwine coined at Stamford or anywhere else except at Steyning. Then there is a coin of BMC iv in the Copenhagen Museum of Wulfric reading *PVLFRIC ON STE* (Pl., No. 4). I have a coin of Wulfric of BMC ii reading *PVLFRIC ON STÆ* (Pl., No. 5), and we have a continuous series of Wulfric from this point up to BMC xi. In other words we have a continuous series of Frithiwine from Cnut to Edward the Confessor iii and iv (excluding i, of which we have no coins), and then a continuous series of Wulfric from iv to xi, including ii. And Steyning was, at any rate at this time, a one-moneyer mint. It is in the mints which have only one moneyer and of which we have a specimen of every or nearly every type that we have one of the best and easiest means of determining the order of the types.

Wulfric continued to coin through v, vii, ix, and xi, but here we have a difficulty. We also have a moneyer Wulfget coining in type v, but only in that type, as well as Wulfric. We must assume, therefore, that there were two moneyers working at Steyning in type v. This is at first sight unlikely, as there was apparently only one moneyer during far the greater part of the history of the mint, but it may be there were two, for Steyning was taken again into the king's hands and the monks of Fécamp expelled in 1052, and it would be much more likely for the king to appoint a second moneyer in defiance of the laws of Athelstan than the abbot. In fact the abbot could not do so without licence from the king as he would not be able to get his dies.

From now on till the Conquest we get a fair number of coins, while the mint was in the hands of the king. Wulfget provides us with two coins of BMC v, in the British Museum and elsewhere. Hildebrand gives one with a slightly different reading, but I suspect it of being the same as the second one in the British Museum. Unfortunately I have never been long enough in Stockholm to verify this and other conjectures.

Wulfric, who started work in BMC iv and continued in ii, is represented in type v by a coin in my collection (Pl., No. 6). He continued to work through BMC vii, ix, and xi. We have three coins of his in BMC vii (Pl., No. 7) and two in BMC ix (Pl., No. 8). A coin of this moneyer of type xi is in the Duke of Argyll's collection, and

there is also a specimen in the Hastings Museum. It has apparently not been published before, except in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*. Wulfric then disappears and his place is taken by Diorman or Dermon, who continued to coin till type vi of William I. He begins in BMC xi of the Confessor with one of the commonest coins of the Anglo-Saxon series (**Pl., No. 9**). This is no doubt due to the large number of these coins in the Chancton find of 1866. Here his name is spelt DIORMAN as it is on one of the two coins of BMC xiii (**Pl., No. 10**). On the other, however, in the British and the Brighton Museums, it is spelt DERMON and continues to be so spelt down to William I, type ii, after which it is spelt DRMAN.

In BMC xv we have only one coin of Steyning, again by Dermon, of which a specimen is in the British Museum (**Pl., No. 11**), unless the coin by Godwine reading GODPINE ON STÆ is of this mint. I agree, however, with the late Dr. Brooke that this coin should be given to Stafford; firstly, because there is otherwise no Godwine at Steyning whereas there is a Godwine who coined at Stafford in the first two types of William I, and we may presume a continuity of moneyer at this mint of which, I believe, no other coin is known of Edward, type xv; secondly, because it would necessitate two moneyers at the same time at Steyning, though that argument is largely vitiated by the fact that there were two at once in type v; and lastly, because in the large number of coins in the Chancton hoard found only four miles from Steyning and covering exactly this period, and in which many coins of Steyning appeared, not one specimen of this fairly common coin was found.

HAROLD II

Harold II hastened to strike money on his accession to the throne, for it was a very much disputed one. In consequence, for his short reign we have a relatively large number of coins. These include one of Steyning by the moneyer Dermon which, incidentally, shows the curious mis-spelling OM for ON which appears on all the specimens I have seen (**Pl., No. 12**).

WILLIAM I

After the Conquest we get far fewer coins of Steyning, no doubt owing to the restoration by the Conqueror of the borough and consequently its mint to the Abbey of Fécamp. There is one in the British Museum of type ii (**Pl., No. 13**), one in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, of type v, and one, recently in the Morrieson collection and now in my collection, of type vi (**Pl., No. 14**), all of the moneyer Dermon. The coin of type v in the Ashmolean Museum reads DRMIINONONS and is given with a query in Brooke's *Norman Kings*. But as there is no other Dermon coining at this time except at Colchester, we may safely allot this coin to Steyning.

Of type viii, thanks to the Beaworth hoard, we have a number of coins (**Pl., No. 15**). I have noted six varieties, all of Hks. 241, and all by the new moneyer Thurbern, who now continued till the mint

was closed. This was presumably at the beginning of the reign of Henry I as no coins later than William II, type 5, have so far been discovered.

I have been unable to discover specimens of the coin, of which two are quoted in Hawkins's Beaworth hoard in the third edition of Ruding, reading ÐVRBEN ON STEFL. It is no doubt a misreading of the mint-name, probably for STEN.

WILLIAM II

We have no coins of type 1 of William II, but of type 2 there is a specimen in the British Museum, and a duplicate in my collection (Pl., No. 16), by Thurbern. Of type 3 there are in the British Museum two coins by the moneyers Lifsi and Thurbern (Pl., No. 17). This raises a difficulty, for Thurbern coined in type 5 also, as will be seen presently. How comes Lifsi to be coining then, in a one-moneyer mint? The reading given is definite enough, ON STEN, but I have not been able to see the coin owing to the war. It may be a misreading, but that is not likely,¹ for there is no other mint with a Lifsi coining at this time. We can only conjecture that for some reason Thurbern ceased to coin and resumed later; or it may be that there are two Thurberns, perhaps father and son, that Thurbern I died, and that Thurbern II was too young to succeed to his place, which Lifsi filled till Thurbern II was old enough. Major Carlyon-Britton apparently attributed this coin of Lifsi to Stamford at the time of writing chap. VI of his *Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I and II* in 1906, as he gives in the list of moneyers Lifsi at Stamford in this type, but in the portion on the Stamford mint published in 1912 he does not mention it; so he presumably had come to the conclusion that it could not be attributed to Stamford.

Be the reason what it may, Thurbern turns up again in type 5, though we have no coins of type 4. There is a coin of his minting in my collection, lately in the Morrieson collection, which I am tempted to describe by that dangerous word "unique". However, unique or not, it is very rare (Pl., No. 18).

This ends the series, and the Steyning mint after a life of some seventy-five years vanishes from our records.

COINS OF THE STEYNING MINT

Abbreviations: B.M., British Museum; Cphgn., Copenhagen Museum; Stkhm., Stockholm, Royal Cabinet; Ashm., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Hstgs., Hastings Museum; H.H.K., the author's collection; Arg., Duke of Argyll's collection. Coins are shown as being elsewhere only when they are not in the British Museum.

CNUT

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|--------|
| BMC xiv; Hild. G. | | |
| 1. +ENVV RECV Λ | +PVDIA ON STENIE | Stkhm. |
| BMC xvi; Hild. H. | | |
| 2. +ENVV RECV | +ECRIE ONN 2TEC | B.M. |

¹ I have since seen a cast of the coin and the reading is quite definite.

3. +ENV T EEX AN	+PIDIA ON STENII	Stkhm.
4. +ENV T REEX A	+PIDIIA ON STENII	Stkhm.
5. +ENV T • REEX	+PIDNA ON STENII	B.M.
6. +ENV T REEX	+FREÐIPINE ON STENI	Ashm.
7. +ENV • TREEX :	+FREÐEPINE ON STENI	H.H.K. (Pl., 1)
8. +ENV T • REEX	+FRÐIPINE ON STE :	B.M.

HAROLD I

BMC v, var. c; Hild. B.		
9. +HAROLD REEX	+FRIDEPINE O STE	Stkhm.
10. +HAROLD REC	+ „ „	Stkhm.

HARTHACNUT

BMC i, var. a; Hild. Aa.		
11. +HARÐACNV T RE	+FRID I ON STENIGE • :	B.M. (Pl., 2)

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

BMC iii, C-B III		
12. +EDPER : RD RE : X :	+FRIDEPINE ONN STEN	H.H.K. (Pl., 3)

BMC iv, C-B V

13. +EDPERD REEX	+FRIDEPINE ON ST	Stkhm.
14. +EDPARD REX •	+PVLFRIC ON STE	Cphgn. (Pl., 4)

BMC ii, C-B IV

15. +EDPE RDRE	+PVLFRIC ON STE	H.H.K. (Pl., 5)
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BMC v, C-B VI

16. +EAD • RD REX	+PVLFRIC ON STENN :	H.H.K. (Pl., 6)
17. +EDPE • RD REX	+PVLFEET ON STEN	B.M.
18. +EDPNR • RD RE	+PVLFEET ON STENI • •	B.M.

BMC vii, C-B VII

19. +EDPA D REX	+PVFERIC ON STE • •	B.M.
20. +EDREID REX	+PVLFRIC ON STE	B.M.
21. +EDPA • DER •	+PVLFRIC ON • STENI	B.M. (Pl., 7)

BMC ix, C-B VIII

22. EADPARD REX ANGLO	+PVLFRIC ONN STE	B.M. (Pl., 8)
23. EADPRD E • X ANGOR •	+PVLFRIC ON • STEN :	B.M.

BMC xi, C-B IX

24. EADPA • RD RE	+PVLFRIC ONN STE	Arg. Hstgs.
25. EADPAR • RD RE A	+DIORMAN ON STENIG	B.M. (Pl., 9)

BMC xiii, C-B X

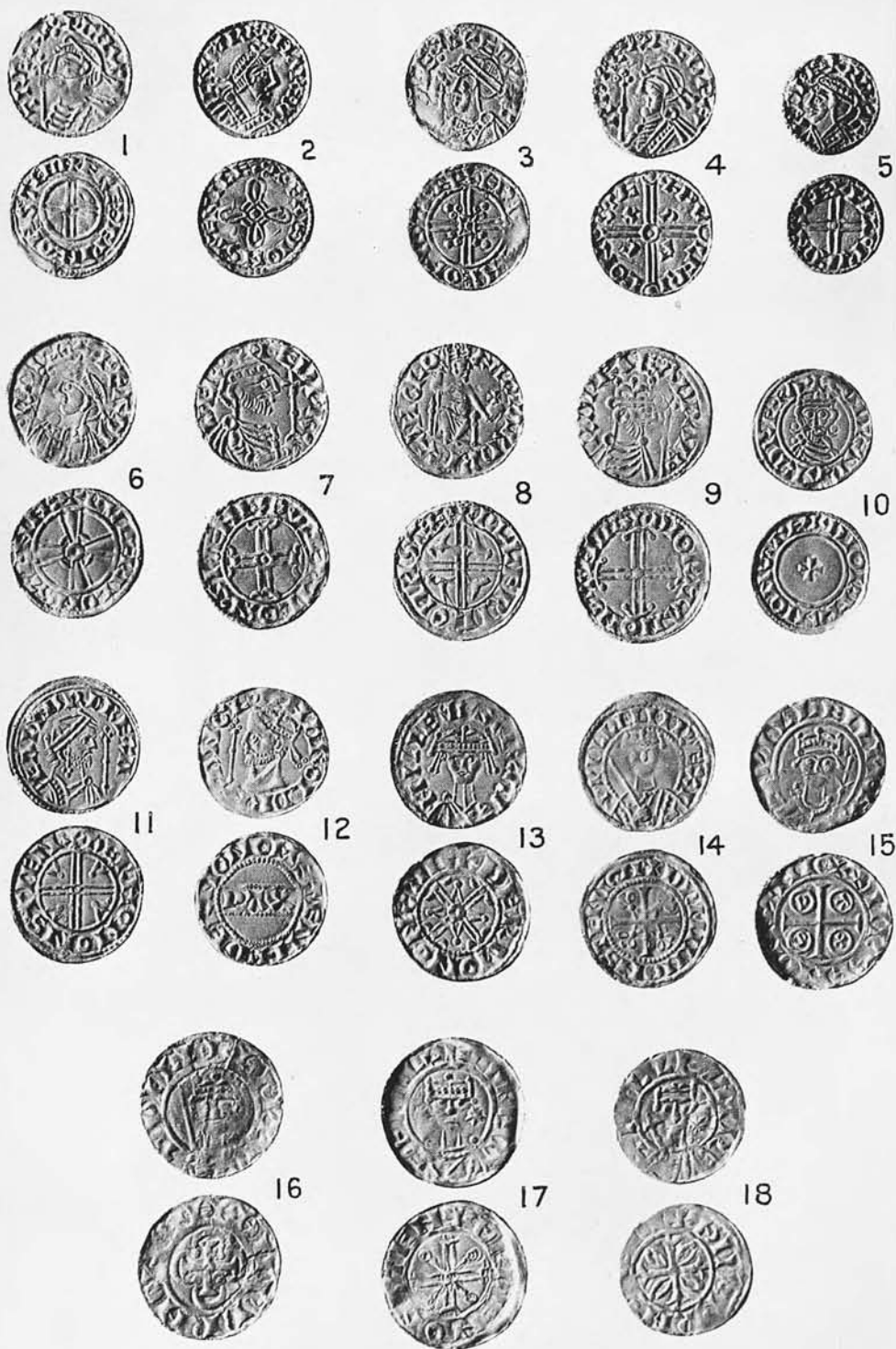
26. +EADRARARD RE+ A	+DIORMAN O.N STE	B.M. (Pl., 10)
27. EADPARD RE	+DERMON ON STE	B.M.

BMC xv, C-B XI

28. EADPARD REX A	+DERMON ON STIEN	B.M. (Pl., 11)
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HAROLD II

29. +HAROLD REX ANGLO	+DERMON OM STENI	B.M. (Pl., 12)
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COINS OF THE STEYNING MINT

WILLIAM I

BMC ii		
30. +PILLEMVS REX AI	+DERMON ON 2TIE	B.M. (P1., 13)
BMC v		
31. +PILLELM REX II	+DRMIIN ON ON S	Ashm.
BMC vi		
32. +PILLELM REX I	+DRMIIN ON STENIGN	H.H.K. (P1., 14)
BMC viii		
33. +PILLELMREX	+DIIRBERN ON STE	B.M.
34. +PILLELM REX	+ " " "	H.H.K.
35. + " "	+DIIRBEN ON STENC	B.M.
36. + " "	+DIIRBRN ON STNI	B.M.
37. +PILLELLMREX	+DIIRBEN ON STENI	B.M.
38. + " "	+DIIRBEN ON STNIG	B.M. (P1., 15)

WILLIAM II

BMC 2		
39. +PILLELMREX	+DIIRBRN ON STEN	B.M. (P1., 16)
BMC 3		
40. +PILLELMRE	+LIFS I ON STEN ..	B.M.
41. +PILLELMREII	+DRBEN ON STEN	B.M. (P1., 17)
BMC 5		
42. +PILLELM R	+DIIRBRN ON STN	H.H.K. (P1., 18)

KEY TO THE PLATE

1. Cnut. BMC xvi. Die No. 7.
2. Harthacnut. BMC i. Die No. 11.
3. Edw. The Confessor. BMC iii. Die No. 12.
4. " " " " iv. " 14.
5. " " " " ii. " 15.
6. " " " " v. " 16.
7. " " " " vii. " 21.
8. " " " " ix. " 22.
9. " " " " xi. " 25.
10. " " " " xiii. " 26.
11. " " " " xv. " 28.
12. Harold II. Die No. 29.
13. William I. BMC ii. Die No. 30.
14. " " vi. " 32.
15. " " viii. " 38.
16. William II. BMC 2. Die No. 39.
17. " " 3. " 41.
18. " " 5. " 42.

PENNIES OF THE COLCHESTER MINT

By T. M. TURNER

THE first indication there is of a mint at Colchester is provided by coins of Cunobelin bearing the mint-name **CAMV** (Camulodunum). Later, during the Roman occupation, Colchester was an important mint: in fact it shared with London the production of all Roman coins struck in Britain. After the Romans left, however, its importance seems to have diminished considerably, for although some coins of the East Anglian series may have been struck there, there is no mention of the town in Æthelstan's laws,¹ and we have no definite evidence of a mint there again until the reign of Æthelred II.

One might mention which types of Æthelred are known of the Colchester mint, but it would not be safe to infer much from such evidence, since it is apparent from the general nature of the whole series that both the mint itself and the coins it produced have suffered many vicissitudes. The output of the mint, at any rate under the Saxons, must have been large: so much is obvious from the number of dies of which specimens are known, and from the number of moneyers evidently working concurrently; but the infrequent occurrence of two or more coins from the same dies is perhaps only the natural outcome of the troubled surroundings amid which the mint worked. The incursions of the Viking pirate Olaf Tryggveson in the years 991 to 994, together with those of similar but less notorious marauders, must have left their mark upon this part of the country. After ravaging Ipswich in 991, the invaders appear to have coasted down the Essex shores, no doubt plundering as they went; then followed a disastrous defeat for the English at the battle of Maldon. We may assume that Colchester did not escape unscathed then, nor, indeed, at any other similar times.

The mint no doubt worked hard to coin its share of the vast tribute money with which Æthelred tried to bribe the Vikings, first in 992 and again in 995. After the combined raids of Olaf Tryggveson and Sweyn in 994-5, East Anglia seems to have been free from them for a year, but they recommenced in 997, and continued intermittently, to culminate in widespread raids in 1004-6, and in 1007 a tribute of £36,000 of silver was handed over. The story of the raids continues with wearying monotony: Ipswich was again destroyed in 1010 by Thorkil the Tall, and in 1012 a still more enormous sum was made over to the Vikings. The remaining four years of Æthelred's reign were equally troubled, but Colchester seems then to have lain more out of harm's way than previously.

It would probably be unwise to connect any specific types of

¹ See Brooke, *Norman Kings*, Intro. p. clxviii. Colchester did not then rank as a borough, so cannot be included in the grant of one moneyer to each borough not mentioned by name.

Æthelred with these four large payments of Danegeld, at any rate as far as Colchester is concerned, but it is perhaps worth noting that there are at least eleven moneyers of the **CRVX** type, nearly twice as many as of any other Saxon type of Colchester. Coins of at least six of these moneyers have been found in Scandinavia. The fifth type, reverse long cross voided, is the second commonest type. Brooke's fourth type, B.M.C. viii, with bust in radiate helmet, does not occur, and the second type, with bust to right, and the Hand of Providence reverse, is only known from a mule. This is interesting, as it is the only mule I have encountered in the whole series of this mint. The second type mentioned above is muled with a **CRVX** type reverse, reading

+SPETINC M-O COLEN R.C.L.

There is also an unpublished moneyer of the **CRVX** type, whose name does not occur elsewhere in the series. The reverse reading is

+EDSIGE M-O COL

pierced; P.G.L. (Pl., No. 1), found in Colchester. This coin is considered by people more competent than myself to be genuine, and I have included the moneyer in my enumeration above of eleven moneyers for Æthelred's third type.

Lastly, there is a modified version of Æthelred's first type (Hks. 205), bearing on the reverse, in addition to the small cross pattée, four small crosses. This sub-type is described and illustrated by H. A. Parsons in the *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xiii, 1917. The interesting and unusual design is found in at least four different forms:

(i)  (ii)  (iii)  (iv) 

It will be observed that in (iii) and (iv) the central cross pattée is in saltire in relation to the initial cross and the legend. This seems to indicate that the design in question was envisaged as a whole, and satisfactory arrangements of the five crosses selected. From this I infer that it is a deliberate variety of type rather than a later addition to original dies. Dr. Brooke (*Eng. Coins*, pp. 66 and 68) believed that Æthelred's first type continued in use throughout the reign; the type variant may have been employed for some reason to distinguish the later coins of the type from the earlier ones. It is a widespread variety and by no means uncommon.

ELEPINE ON COLC B.M. and Hild. both rev. (i).

GODRIC Colchester Museum; rev. unascertained.

„ Hild. rev. (iii).

LEOFSTAN Hild. rev. (i).

When Cnut finally became king after the confused events of 1014-16, the country began gradually to return to some degree of prosperity, and the coinage of Cnut was as large as that of Æthelred. Colchester coins are known of all Cnut's main types, except the rare earliest

coins with types of Æthelred, and Cnut's name, and the rare last type, Brooke 6, with cross of four jewels on the reverse, similar to the first type of Harold I.

There is one unpublished moneyer of Cnut. It is of Brooke's second type (B.M.C. viii, Hks. 212) with bust in quatrefoil. The reverse reading is

+BVRGNMAN O COL T.M.T. (Pl., No. 5)

It is perhaps relevant to mention that there is a specimen of this type in Hildebrand of the moneyer BRVNMAN.

Little is to be said of the reigns of Harold I and Harthacnut that has any bearing on the Colchester mint.

Coins are known of both types of Harold I, Godric and Wulfwine being the moneyers for each type. There is a coin of Harold's second type listed in Hildebrand, reading

+AELFERE ON COL

a moneyer otherwise unknown.

No Colchester coins of Harthacnut are known to exist.

Edward the Confessor's coins are very well represented, though there are only nine moneyers known of this reign, as against nineteen of Æthelred II. All of Brooke's ten types are known. The appearance of a pellet in one quarter of the reverse, a feature discussed by Mr. Parsons in his article referred to above (*Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xiii), occurs on coins of Brihtric, Leofward, and Stanmaer of type 5: the first two are in the British Museum, and the third belonged to the late Dr. Laver of Colchester. There is also a coin of type 8 (B.M.C. xi) of Goldman, with two pellets in the reverse field.

There are two coins of type 3 (B.M.C. ii) of moneyers unpublished for that particular type, and struck as usual on small flans. The reverse readings are:

+LEOPARD ON CO Colchester Museum.

+STANMAE ON COL T.M.T. (Pl., No. 8)

A specimen has recently turned up of the "sovereign" type, Brooke 7, B.M.C. IX, in the Colchester Museum, of a moneyer otherwise unknown of this type. The obverse is of suspiciously poor workmanship, and the reading almost a blundered one, but the reverse is quite normal:

+EDPARD...XANGORI [?]

+GOLDMAN ON COLECE

Of Harold II, I have seen altogether only four varieties, but I think there are probably more. Of these four specimens, one is an unpublished moneyer for the reign, reading

+GOLDSTAN ON COLI Colchester Museum.

There are several coins of Goldstan of William I, but none of Edward the Confessor.

Brooke's notes mention the moneyer GOLDMAN for this type, but

I cannot trace the coin he knew; perhaps it was a slip for GOLDSTAN. There was a coin of Goldman in the Rotherham find, 1939, but Brooke cannot have known this.

With the Norman Conquest, study of the mint is made much more interesting by the appearance of what seems to be the first direct documentary evidence. In Domesday Book there is mention of mints at thirteen towns (out of a possible sixty-nine), and fortunately Colchester is one of them. Admittedly the passage is generally considered to be one of the most difficult in the whole of the Essex survey, and possibly corrupt, but it is worth quoting at some length. It is as follows:

"And it is the custom that every year on the fifteenth day after Easter the King's Burgesses pay two marks of silver and this belongs to the Firm of the King: and moreover from each house six pence yearly, which he may employ for the maintenance of the King's soldiers, or for an expedition by land or sea: and this does not belong to the Firm: and this is to be if the King should have soldiers, or should make an expedition. And for these sums of six pence the whole City used to pay in the time of King Edward for all that was owed fifteen pounds and five shillings and three pence in each year: of which the moneyers used to pay four pounds in the time of King Edward: and now the City pays twenty-four pounds and five sextarii of honey, or forty shillings and four pence.

... And besides this the Burgesses of Colchester and of Maldon pay twenty pounds for their mint: and this was decided by Waleram, and they call on the King to vouch for them, that he has remitted to them ten pounds; and Walchelin, the Bishop, who is now in possession, claims of them forty pounds."

The phrase describing the bishop as in possession depends on the reading of a very indistinct contraction of the word *tenens*, but it seems quite plausible.

Waleram was a local baron who had been at one time the fermor of Colchester: he was succeeded in 1086 by his son John, but at that time the fermor of Colchester was more probably Bishop Walchelin, whose name occurs in the same passage. He was Bishop of Winchester from 30 May 1070 until January 1098. He and the Bishop of Coutances were at the head of Domesday Commission for the counties of Cambridge, Hertford, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Huntingdon.

If the passage concerning the mint itself is to be best understood, it may help to compare the details with those of surrounding mints as far as possible. First, to summarize the position at Colchester as it appears from the account:

The town paid £4 a year under Edward, raised to £20 in Domesday Book, though Maldon shared the cost. But Bishop Walchelin was exacting £40 from them, though the king is said to have remitted £10. It is also known that under Henry II £3 a year was remitted for deficiency of moneyers (*in defectu monetarium*) until 1167, and subsequently £4. This possibly represented £1 per moneyer.

Ipswich seems to have suffered from similar extortion. They had also paid £4, now raised to £20, and in addition they were greatly in arrears. In four years they had only managed altogether to pay £27.¹ Thetford was still less fortunate, actually paying £40 a year.²

Though these sums seem excessive, they are not, however, the only examples. Lincoln at the time was paying as much as £75 a year.

A point to notice is that at Colchester the burgesses paid the rent, whereas at Ipswich the moneyers are explicitly named as being responsible; Thetford is a doubtful case.

I had hoped to examine as many Maldon coins as possible to see if there were any instances of obverse dies being borrowed by either mint, but unfortunately war conditions have made this impossible.

No traces have been found in Colchester to show where the mint might have operated, though there is slight evidence believed by some to indicate the site of Cunobelin's mint centuries earlier. By the end of William II's reign the importance of the mint was declining rapidly, and specimens of the three remaining reigns during which it continued to operate are comparatively rare, with a large proportion of unique and unpublished examples.

To turn to details: there are specimens from two or three different dies of a variety of William I's fifth type (two stars) with beaded inner circle both sides. They are described and illustrated in *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xii, 1915. One of these is in my collection.

Only four of Henry I's fifteen types are represented, with a total of five moneyers: one of these types is unpublished. It is known from a specimen of Brooke type 1, reading

+IELFSI ON COLEGES Drabble Sale 1939/635.

Stephen's Colchester coins comprise three types, two of which are unpublished. The first of these is a specimen of Brooke's second type, reading

+RANDVLF:ON:CO R.C.L.

Type 7 is represented by two unpublished coins probably identical in essentials, if not from the same dies:

+GODE....N.COL.. Drabble Sale 1939/712.

.....:ON:COLL Colchester Museum.

There are also two unpublished coins of the already known first type, the second of which is, however, rather doubtful:

+ALFPINE:ON:COLEE P.G.L. (Pl., No. 16)

+SAFARI....OLE Colchester Museum, *ex* Rashleigh
Sale, 502. (Pl., No. 17)

That is the reading given in the sale catalogue: the B.M. have made a note in their copy, "illegible", but that is not so. The letters are

¹ Et monetarii reddebant per annum t(empore) r(egis) e(dwardi) iiii. libras pro moneta, modo debent reddere xx. libras sed de quattuor annis non reddiderunt nisi xxvii. libras." Domesday Book, fo. 290b.

² "Reddit etiam modo regi xl. libras de moneta." Ibid., fo. 119.

undoubtedly as I have given them, with the exception of the 1, which may be the first upright of an A or N or similar letter. I know of no parallel for the moneyer's name, the nearest being SAMAR at Leicester, but that is not possible here. We cannot split the last three letters O/LE, as the form ON is in this period invariable, and in any case we should expect a colon or a stop between them.

Colchester coins of Henry II are of the Tealby coinage only, and they are extremely rare, though three moneyers are known. There is nothing particularly noteworthy about this issue, which brings the history of the Colchester mint to a very uneventful close.

My thanks are due to all who have so kindly helped me to complete this paper, particularly the staff of the British Museum, and my friends in the British Numismatic Society and in the Colchester Museum: for their assistance and encouragement I am most grateful.

LIST OF DIES

Collections referred to:

B.M.	British Museum.
R.C.L.	R. C. Lockett, F.S.A.
P.G.L.	The late P. G. Laver, F.R.C.S. (mostly now in the Colchester Museum).
Col. Mus.	The Colchester and Essex Museum.
Hild.	Hildebrand, <i>Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Swedish Collection</i> , Stockholm.
Hunt.	The Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.
T.M.T.	T. M. Turner.

(Note: Hildebrand's *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, from which many readings are taken, does not indicate stops or pellets in the legends.)

N.B. All specimens have initial cross in both obv. and rev. legends: here it is omitted throughout to save space.

KEY TO THE PLATE

1.	Æthelred II, Type III A.	Die No. 17.
2.	" " III A.	" 43.
3.	" " IV A.	" 49.
4.	" " IV A.	" 55.
5.	Cnut, Type VIII.	Die No. 66.
6.	" " XVII.	" 94.
7.	Harold I, Type V c.	Die No. 102.
8.	Edward the Confessor, Type II.	Die No. 116.
9.	" " IX.	" 134.
10.	" " XI.	" 136.
11.	" " XI.	" 138.
12.	William I, Type V.	Die No. 165.
13.	" " VIII.	" 174.
14.	" " VIII.	" 176.
15.	William II, Type II.	Die No. 185.
16.	Stephen, Type I.	Die No. 198.
17.	" " I.	" 200.
18.	Henry II, Tealby Type.	Die No. 203.

ÆTHELRED II, 979-1016

Br. 1, B.M.C. I, Hks. 205.

1. EDELRED REX ANG · L	EDPINEMΩON COL · E	R.C.L.
2. EDELRED REX ANGLO	EDPINE MΩON COLEN	B.M.
3. EDELRED REX ANGL	·EDPINEMΩNCOLEN	P.G.L.
4. EDELRED REX ANGEL	(As 3.)	Hild. 288.
5. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	EDPINE MΩON COLN	Hild. 291.
6. EDELRED REX ANGLO	EDPINE MΩON COLCS	Hild. 286.
7. EDELRED REX ANGEL	(As 2.)	B.M.
8. EDELRED REX ANGLO	EODRIC ON COLECS	P.G.L.

Br. 1 var. Hild. A var. c. 4 crosses on rev. field.

9. EDEL · RED RE + ANG	EL · EPINE ON COLG	B.M.
10. (As 9.)	ELEPINE ON COILE	Hild. 292.
11. EDELRED RE + ANGEL	EODRIC ON COLECS	Hild. 294.
12. EDELRED REX AN	EODRIC MO COLEC	Col. Mus.
13. EDELRED REX AN	LEOFZTAN ON COLE	Hild. 302.
{ Mule. Obv. Br. 2, B.M.C. II d, Hks. 206, bust r.; rev. Br. 3, B.M.C. III a, Hks. 204, CRVX }		
14. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	SPETINEM · OCOLEN	R.C.L. }

Br. 3, B.M.C. III a.

15. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	ELFPINE M · O COL	Hild. 282.
16. EDELRED REX ANGELX	ELFPINE M · O CON	Hild. 283.
17. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	EDSIGE M · O COL (Pl., No. 1)	Col. Mus.
18. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	EODPINE M · O COLEC	Hild. 298.
19. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	EODPINE M · O CEOL	Hild. 299.
20. (As 19.)	LEOFRED M · O COL	Hild. 300.
21. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	LEOFRED M · O COLEC	Hild. 301.
22. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	LEOFOLD M · O COL	Col. Mus.
23. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	MANPINE M · O COLEC	Hild. 306.
24. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	SIDPINE M · O COLN	Hild. 307.
25. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	SPETINE M · O COL · N	B.M.
26. (As 25.)	SPETINE M · O COLN	Col. Mus.
27. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	SPETINE M · O COLE	Hild. 308.
28. (As 27.)	SPETINE M · O COLEN	Hild. 309.
29. (As 27.)	SPETINE M · O COLNE	Hild. 311.
30. (As 27.)	TOEA M · O COLEC	Hild. 313.
31. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	TOEA M · O CEOL	Col. Mus.
32. A fragment, rather more than half.		
..... DREXANGLORV	..... EA M · O COLE	B.M.
33. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	PLFNOΘ M · O CONCS	Hild. 314.
34. (As 33.)	PVLFOΘ M · O COL	Hild. 315.
35. (As 33.)	PVLFOΘ M · O COLNCS	Hild. 318.
36. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	PVLFOΘ COLNCS	Col. Mus.
37. EDELRED REX ANGLOR	PVLFOΘ M · O COLN	B.M.
38. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	(As 37.)	R.C.L.
39. EDELRED REX ANGLOX	PVLFRIC M · O COL	Col. Mus.

40.	(As 39.)	PVLFRIC M ^{TO} COLNE	Col. Mus.
41.	ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	PVLFRIC M ^{TO} CEOL	Hild. 319.
42.	ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	PVLFRIC M ^{TO} COLNE	Hild. 321.
43.	ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	PVLFPINE M ^{TO} COLN (Pl., No. 2)	B.M. and T.M.T.
44.	ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	PVLFPINE M ^{TO} COLE	Hild. 322.
45.	ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	(As 44.)	Hild. 323.
<i>Br. 5, B.M.C. IVa, Hks. 207.</i>			
46.	ÆDELRED REX ANGL	EADMVND M ^{TO} COL	Hild. 284.
47.	ÆDELRED REX AN	EO DRI EM ^{TO} COL	B.M.
48.	ÆDELRED REX ANGL	EO DRI EM ^{TO} COL	B.M.
49.	ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR	EO DRIE M ^{TO} COL (Pl., No. 3)	P.G.L.
50.	ÆDELRED REX ANGO	EO RIC M ^{TO} COL	Hild. Suppl. 4351.
51.	ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	LEO FPIE M ^{TO} COL:	B.M.
52.	ÆDELRED REX ANGL	LEO FPOL DM ^{TO} COL	Col. Mus.
53.	ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	LEOFOLD M ^{TO} OC	Hild. 303.
54.	ÆDELRED REX ANGL	PVL FPIN EM ^{TO} COL	B.M.
55.	ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR	PVL FPIN EM ^{TO} COL (Pl., No. 4)	Col. Mus.
56.	(As 55.)	PVL FPIN EM ^{TO} COL	R.C.L.
57.	ÆDELRED REX ANGL	PVLFPINE M ^{TO} COL	Hild. 325.
58.	(As 57.)	PVLFPINE MO COL	Hild. 326.
59.	[Illegible.]	PVLSTIN MO COL	Hild. 328.

CNUT, 1016-35

Br. 2, B.M.C. VIII, Hks. 212.

60.	CNVT REX ANGLOR	EL FPI NEM COL	B.M.
61.	CNVT REX ANGLOX	EL FPI NEM COL	Drabble Sale 487.
62.	CNVTRE + ANGLO	EL FPI NEC ONE [?]	Col. Mus.
63.	CNVT REX ANGLO	ELFPINE M COLE	Hild. 213.
64.	(As 63.)	BRVNMAN O COL	Hild. 216.
65.	(As 63.)	BRVNMAN O COLE	Hild. 217.
66.	CNVT REX ANGLO:	BR CNM ANO COL (Pl., No. 5)	T.M.T.
67.	CNVT REX ANGLOX	ED PIN EMO COL	B.M.
68.	(As 67.)	ED PIN EMO COL	Col. Mus.
69.	CNVT REX ANGLO	GODRI ON COLN	Hild. 219.
70.	CNVT REX ANGL	GODRIC MO COL	Hild. 220.
71.	CNVT REX ANGLOX	(As 70.)	Hild. 221.
72.	CNVT REX ANGLO	GODRIC ON COL	Hild. 222.
73.	(As 72.)	PVLFPINE ON C	Hild. 231.
(This is attributed to Colchester, but might be Cricklade.)			
74.	CNVT REX ANGO	PVLFPINE ON COL	Hild. 232.
75.	CNVT REX ANGLOX	(As 74.)	Hild. 233.
76.	CNVT REX ANGLO	PVLFPINE O COL	Hild. 234.
77.	CNVT REX ANGLOR	PVLFPINE M OLN [sic]	Hild. 235.

Br. 3, B.M.C. XIV, Hks. 213.

78.	CNVT: REX AN	ELFPINE : ON COL :	B.M.
79.	CNV TREXAN	GODRIC : ON COLX.	B.M.

80. ENV: TREXΛ·N	Ɔ·ODR·IC : ONƆOL·Λ·	R.C.L.
81. ·ENVΤ REX ΛN	P·VL·FPINE : ONƆOL :	B.M.
82. ENVΤ RECXΛ·	PLFPINE ON ƆOLΛC	Drabble Sale 493 and Col. Mus.
83. ENVΤ RECX	PVLFPINE ON ƆOLA	Hild. 238.

Br. 4, B.M.C. XVI, Hks. 208.

84. ENV TREX[Λ]	ƆODRIC ON ƆOLEC	B.M.
85. ENVΤ ·REX Λ :	(As 84.)	Col. Mus.
86. ENV TRECX	(As 84.)	R.C.L.
87. (As 86.)	ƆODRIC ON ƆOLECZ	Hild. 224.
88. ENVΤ REX ΛNƆ	(As 87.)	Hild. 225.
89. ENVΤ REX	LEOFFINE ON ƆOL	Hild. 229.
90. ENV TREX	PVLFPINE ON ƆOL·	B.M.
91. (As 90.)	PVLFPINE ON ƆOL· Λ	B.M.
92. ENVΤ REC[X] Λ·	PVLFPINE ON ƆOI[-]	Col. Mus.

Br. 5, B.M.C. XVII.

93. ENVΤR EXAN	PVL·FPINE ON ƆOLC	B.M.
94. ENV TRECX	PVLFPINE ON ƆOL· (Pl., No. 6)	Col. Mus.

HAROLD I, 1035-40

Br. 1, B.M.C. I.

95. HAROLD REX	ƆODRIC ON ƆOLEC	Hild. 75.
96. HAROLD RECX	(As 95.)	Hild. 76.
97. HAROLD REX	PVLPINE ON ƆOLECE	Hild. 81.

Br. 2, B.M.C. Vc, Hks. 214.

98. HAROLD REX	ƆELFERE ON ƆOL	Hild. 74.
99. HΛR: OLD RE:	ƆO DIE: ONE ONE	B.M.
100. (As 99.)	ƆODRIC ON ƆOLE	Hild. 77.
101. HΛR·OL DREEX:	PII LPIN EON ƆOL	B.M.
102. (As 101.)	PII LFPI: NEO ƆOL: (Pl., No. 7)	T.M.T. and Col. Mus.
103. HAROLD REX	PVLFPINE ON ƆO	Hild. 79.

HARTHACNUT, 1040-2

No Colchester coins known.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042-66

Br. 1, B.M.C. III, Hks. 220.

104. EDPE RDREX	BRV[N]HISE ON ƆOL·Λ	B.M.
105. (As 104.)	ELFPINE ON ƆOLI	B.M.
106. EDPE: RDRE +	LEOFFΛRD ON ƆOLE	B.M.
107. +EDPER· DREX	PVLFPINE ON ƆOL·ΛE	B.M.

Br. 2, B.M.C. I, Hks. 226. (Note: Specimens of this type are known of Stanmaer (Copenhagen) and Wulfwine (Oslo), but I am unable to give the readings.)

108. EDPER DREX	BRVNNHYSEƆOL	R.C.L.
109. EDPERD REX Λ	BRVNNHYSE ON ƆO	Hild. 60.
110. EDPER: DREX Λ	LEOFFERD O ƆOL	B.M.

111. (As 110.)	LEOFFERD O CO	Hild. 63.
112. (As 110.)	LEOFFERD ON COL	Hild. 64.
113. EDPERD REX	LEOFFIRD O COL	Hild. 66.

Br. 3, B.M.C. II, Hks. 229.

114. EDPERD REX	BRIHTRIC ON CO	Hild. 59.
115. EDPE RDRE	LEOFFARD ON CO	Col. Mus.
116. (As 115.)	STANHE ON COL (Pl., No. 8)	T.M.T.

Br. 4, B.M.C. IV, Hks. 221.

117. EDPARD REX	BVNHYSE O COL	Hild. 61.
118. (As 117.)	PVLFPINE O CO	Hild. 67.

Br. 5, B.M.C. V, Hks. 219.

119. E . . . DREX	BRIHTRIC ON COLEC	B.M.
Pellet in 3rd quarter of rev. field.		
120. EDPER DREX	BRVNHVSE ON COL·E	R.C.L.
121. EDPE RDREX	LEOFFERD ON COL·E[sic]	B.M.
Pellet in 2nd quarter of rev.		
122. E·PER DREEX: [sic]	LEOFFERD ON COL·	P.G.L.
123. EDPER· DREX:	STANMER ON COLEE	P.G.L.
Pellet in 2nd quarter of rev.		

Br. 6, B.M.C. VII, Hks. 227.

124. EDPERD REX	BRIHTRIC ON COLECE:	B.M.
125. EDPER· DREX	BRIHTRIC ON COL·	Col. Mus.
126. EDPER DRDR [sic]	BRVNHVSE ON COLEC	B.M.
127. EDPER DRDR [sic]	(As 126.)	Col. Mus.
128. EDPER DRAN	(As 126.)	R.C.L.
129. EDPER DRE+	DEORMAN ON COLECE	B.M.
130. Same (different die)	LEOFFORD ON COLEEE [sic]	B.M.
131. EDPER DRE·	STANMER ON COL·	B.M.
132. EDPE: DREX	PVLFPINE ON COLECT	B.M.

Br. 7, B.M.C. IX, Hks. 228.

133. EDPARD REX ANG [OL?]	BRIHTRIC ON COL·	B.M.
134. EADPR[RE] XANECORI[?]	GOLDMAN ON COLECE (Pl., No. 9)	
(See text, p. 10.)		Col. Mus.
135. EADPARD EX ANGOL [sic]	PVLFPINEON COLECE	B.M.

Br. 8, B.M.C. XI, Hks. 222.

136. EADPAD RD RE [sic]	BRITRIC ON COLECE: (Pl., No. 10)	P.G.L.
137. EADPA RDREX	BRVNHVSE ONCOLECE	R.C.L.
138. EADPARD RD[RE?]	(As 137.) (Pl., No. 11)	T.M.T.
139. EADPAR RDRE	DIORMAN ON COLECE	R.C.L.
140. EADPARD RDRE	GODPINE ON COLECE:	B.M.
141. EADPAR RDRE	GOLDMAN ON COLECE	B.M.

Br. 9, B.M.C. XIII, Hks. 225.

142. EADPA RDRE	BRIHTRIC ON COLEC	B.M.
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143.	·EΠDPΛRD RE[X?]	BRIHTRIC ON COLE	Col. Mus.
144.	(As 143.)	BRIHTRIC· ON COLEC	Col. Mus.
145.	·EΠDPΛRD RE :	BRVNHVSE C·OLE	Col. Mus.
146.	·EΠDPΛRD RE	GOLDMΛN ON COLE	Col. Mus.
147.	EΛDPΛRD RE·	(As 147.)	Col. Mus.
148.	EΛDPΛRD REX Λ·	GOLDMAN ONCOLECE	Col. Mus.
149.	EΠDPΛRD REX	PVLFPINE ON COLEC	B.M.

Br. 10, B.M.C. XV, Hks. 223.

150.	EΠDPΛRD REX	GOLDMAN ON COLE	Hild. 62.
151.	(As 150.)	PVLFPINE ON COLECE	B.M.

HAROLD II, 1066

Br. 1, B.M.C. I.

152.	HΛROLD REX ΛNGL	BRIHTRIC ON COI	B.M.
		<u>PAX</u> upside down.	
152a.	HAROLD REX ANGLOI	GOLDMAN ON COL PΛX	B.M. <i>ex</i> Rotherham Find 1939.
	(Without sceptre.)		Col. Mus.
153.	HΛROLD REX ΛNGL:	GOLDSTΛN ON COLI	
		PAX diagonal.	
154.	HΛROLD REX ΛNGL	PVLFPI ON COLEC PΛX	B.M.
155.	(As 154.)	PVLFPI ON COLEICST	B.M.
		PAX diagonal.	

WILLIAM I, 1066-87

Br. I, Hks. 233. I believe there to be a coin of this type of Goldman, but cannot trace it.

156.	PILLEMIIS REX I	BRIHTRIC ON COLE	R.C.L.
157.	PILLEMII REX	GOLDSTIIN ON COL	B.M.

Br. II, Hks. 234.

158.	PI[L]LEMVS REX	BRIHTRICN COLECE [<i>sic</i>]	B.M.
159.	PILLEMIIS·REX I	GOLDMIIN ON COLE	R.C.L.
160.	PILELMVS REX I	(As 159.)	Hunt.
161.	PILLEMΛS REX II	GOLDSTΛN ON COLE	B.M.

Br. III, Hks. 236.

162.	PILLELMVS REX	PV/LFPINE ON COLECI	Hunt.
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Br. IV, Hks. 237.

163.	PILLEM REX ΛNG	PV/LFPINE ON COLE	Hunt.
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Br. V, Hks. 238. (Carlyon-Britton, *B.N.J.* v. 119, gives GOLDPINE of this type, but I do not know its present whereabouts.)

164.	PILLEM[R]EXΛN	DRMIIN ON COLI	B.M.
165.	PILLEM REX IIN	DRMMIIN ON CO (Pl., No. 12)	T.M.T. v. <i>B.N.J.</i> xii. 19.
	Inner circle beaded both sides.		
166.	PILLEM REX IINI	DRMIINON COLI	<i>B.N.J.</i> xii. 19.
	Inner circle beaded on obverse.		

Pennies of the Colchester Mint

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167. PILLEM REX IIN PIILFPINE ON COL B.M.
 168. PILLEM REX AI PIILFPINE ONCO B.N.J. xii. 19.
 Inner circle beaded both sides.

169. (As 168.) PIILFPINE ON COLI Ibid.
 Inner circle beaded on reverse.

170. PILLCII REX AN [sic] PIILFPINE ON COL Ibid.

Br. VI, Hks. 243.

171. PILLELM REX DORMIIN ON COLEC R.C.L.

172. PILLEM . . . PIILFPARD ON COLE Hunt.

Br. VII, Hks. 239. (Wulfwine: Stockholm—legends not ascertained.)

173. *Obv.* unascertained. PVLFPD ON CO . . . B.N.J. v. 119.

Br. VIII, Hks. 241.

174. PILLELMREX IELFSI ON COLECE (Pl., No. 13) Col. Mus.

$$\begin{array}{c} \overline{\pi} | x \\ \overline{p} | s \end{array}$$

175. (As 174.) DIRMIIN ON COLE B.M.

$$\begin{array}{c} \overline{x} | s \\ \overline{\pi} | p \end{array}$$

176. (As 174.) DRMIIN ON COLEC (Pl., No. 14) Col. Mus.

Crown has lines in
place of beads.

$$\begin{array}{c} \overline{x} | s \\ \overline{\pi} | p \end{array}$$

177. PILLEMREX PIILFRIC ON COLE B.M.

$$\begin{array}{c} \overline{\pi} | x \\ \overline{p} | s \end{array}$$

178. PILLELMREX Same die as preceding. B.M.

179. Same die as preceding. PIILFRIC O[N]COEC B.M.

$$\begin{array}{c} \overline{p} | \overline{\pi} \\ \overline{s} | \overline{x} \end{array}$$

180. PILLELMREX PIILFPINE ON COLE B.M.

Crown as 176.

$$\begin{array}{c} \overline{p} | \overline{\pi} \\ \overline{s} | \overline{x} \end{array}$$

181. PILLELMRIEX PIILEPIHE ON COIE B.M.

Paxs retrograde, beginning in 3rd quarter.

WILLIAM II, 1087-1100

Br. I, Hks. 244.

182. PILLELMREXI PIILFPIE ON COLEC B.M.

Br. 2, Hks. 246.

183. PILLELMREI IELFRIC ON COLEC B.M.

184. PILLELMRE IELFSI ON COLECE B.M.

185. PILLELM REX SIPORD ON COLEI (Pl., No. 15) Col. Mus.

186. PILLELMREX SIPORD ON COLE Drabble 1939, lot 618.

Br. 3, Hks. 250.

187. PILLELMRE GOLDHFC ON COL B.M.

188. (As 187.) SPIGEN ON COLE B.M.

Br. 4, Hks. 247.

189. Obv. not ascertained. IELF . . . ON COLC Huth 1927, lot 289.
 190. PILLELM RE GOLDMIIN OII COLE Hunt.
 191. PILLELMRE SIPORE ON COLEC B.M.

Br. 5, Hks. 248.

192. PILLELM RE SIPIGEN ON COLI B.M.

HENRY I, 1100-35

Br. I, Hks. 251.

193. HNRIRIEXN [sic] IELFSI ON COL[ECES?] Drabble 1939, lot 635.

Br. III, Hks. 253.

194. HENRI R+E SPEGIEN ONCOLE B.M.

Br. XIII, Hks. 265.

195. HENRI[C]VS RE: ELSIE : ON · COLECES · B.M.
 196. HENRICVS REX (As 195.) Col. Mus.
 197. [h]ENRICVS R: E . . . RD · ON · COLEC · R.C.L.

Br. XIV, Hks. 262.

- 197a. HENRICVS R: GOLDHAVEC : ON : COL
 197b. HENRIC · RE[X] GOLDHAVEC : ON : COL ·
 197c. HENRIC · [REX] GOLDHAVEC : ON : CO[L ·]
 (197a-c. Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, vide *B.N.J.* xix. Present whereabouts unknown.)

STEPHEN, 1135-54

Br. I, Hks. 270.

198. STIE[FN]E RE: A[LFPI]NE : O[N : C]OLEE (Pl., No. 16) P.G.L.
 199. [+STIEF]NE REX: EDP[ARD : O]N : COLE: B.M.
 (Two more specimens, probably from the same dies, serve to confirm the bracketed portions, viz.:)

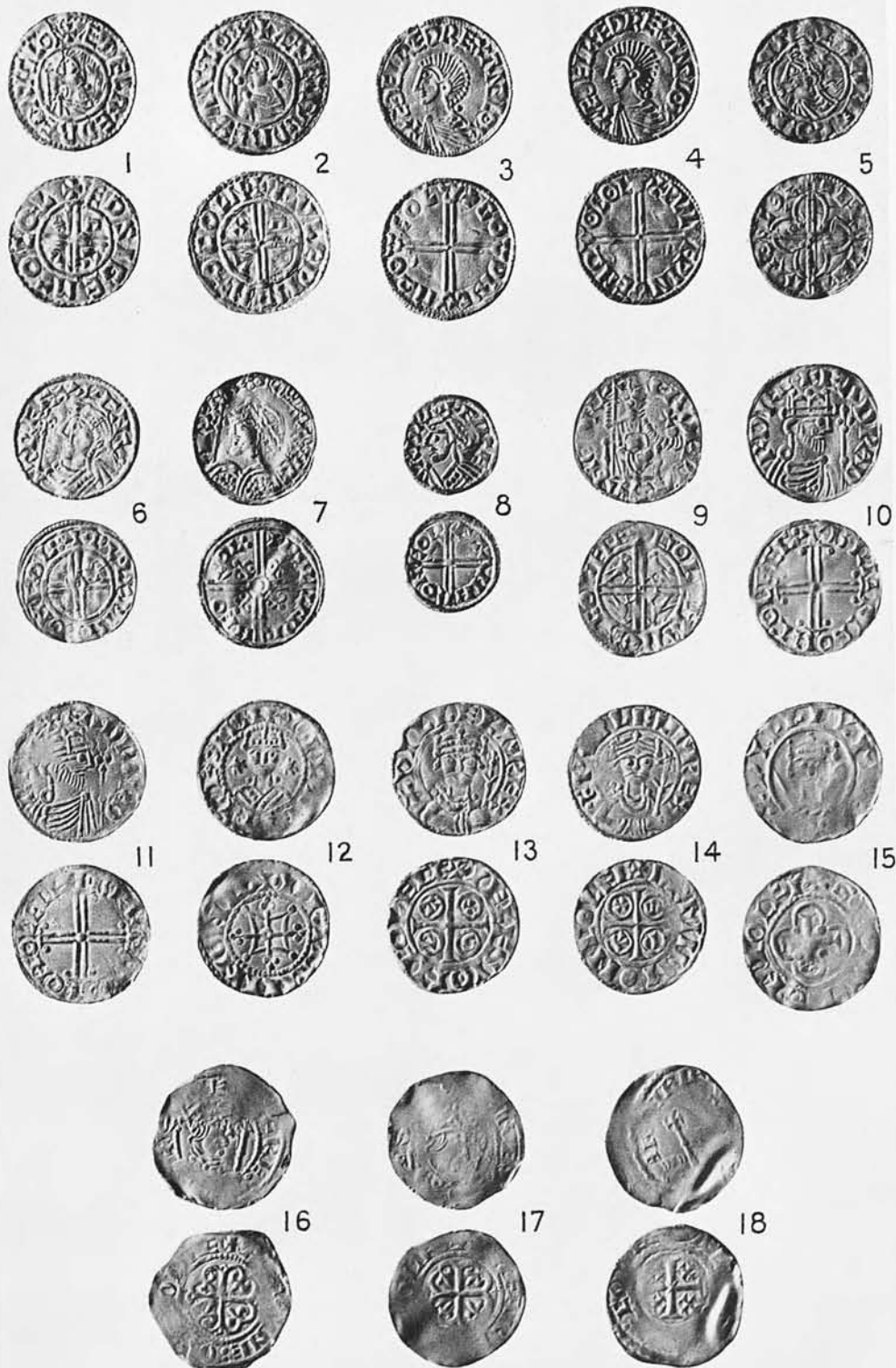
- 199a. ST . . . NE REX: . ED . . . ON : CO . . B.M.
 199b. STIEFNE REX: RD : ON : COLE[.] R.C.L.
 200. S . . . E REX SÄFÄR[?] . . . OLE · (Pl., No. 17) Col. Mus. (Rashleigh 502).
 200a. . . IEF ÄR . . N : CO . . B.M.
 (This may be identical with either 199 or with 200.)

Br. II, Hks. 269.

201. STIEFNE RÄN[D]VLF : ON : CO R.C.L.

Br. VII, Hks. 268.

202. STIEFNE GODE . . . N : COL[L ?] Drabble 1939, lot 712.
 202a. Probably identical with preceding.
 STIEFNE : ON : COLL Col. Mus.



COINS OF THE COLCHESTER MINT

HENRY II

Tealby coinage only.

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|------|
| 203. ✠hENRI REX ANGL | ✠ALPIN : ON : COLEC: (Pl., No. 18) | B.M. |
| 204. [✠hENRI R]EX ANGL | ✠NIC[OLE] : O[N : C]OLE [CE]S: | B.M. |
| 205. ✠hENRI RE+ | ✠PIE[RE]S : ON: COLE· | B.M. |
| 206. (As 205.) | ✠PI[ERES·] ON· COL· | B.M. |
| 207. [✠hENRI] REX: | ✠PI[ERES: ON:] COLE: | B.M. |

THE HEAVY GOLD COINAGE OF HENRY IV

By MAJOR C. E. BLUNT, R.A., F.S.A.

I WAS collecting notes for an article on the heavy gold coins of Henry IV and had gone so far as to have a plate prepared when the war intervened, burying all coin collections in vaults and removing me to other spheres. Back in England once more I have now had the opportunity to put my notes into some form for publication, and I hope any omissions will be put down to the absence of facilities for seeing once more the coins in the British Museum and private collections rather than to any negligence on my part.

Mr. Walters collected the material then available on the coinage of Henry IV and published it in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1905. Since then, it is hardly necessary to say, much has come to light. There is also a short and somewhat speculative paper of my own on the heavy silver coinage which was published in the *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, 1936. Beyond this, little has been written on the subject of the heavy coinage in recent years.

One of the major additions to our knowledge since Walters wrote is the publication of fuller mint accounts than were then available.¹ These show that instead of the total of gold bullion coined during the period of the heavy coinage being £1,043 sterling, as Walters gives (he mistook pounds *Tower* incidentally for pounds *sterling*, a very different matter where gold is concerned), the total for which records exist is 3,000 pounds *Tower*, and even these records are incomplete for a period of slightly over three years. For reference purposes these accounts are reprinted below. It will be seen that the largest coinage was in the first three years of the reign. It is probable that a proportion of the amount recorded between 29 November 1411 and 29 November 1412 was struck into heavy coins, but the exigencies which made necessary a reduction in the weight make it probable that the amount so coined was comparatively small.²

LONDON

Period			Gold (coined)			Silver (bullion purchased)		
From	To		li.	oz.	d.	li.	oz.	d.
15 Oct. 1399 ³	29 Sept. 1402	3 yrs.	1465	13	10½	687	5	6
Mich. 1402	Mich. 1403	1 yr.	298	12	10	129	2	11¼
Mich. 1403	24 Jan. 1404	4 mos.	97	13	4	185	5	7½
24 Jan. 1404	Mich. 1404	8 mos.	216	3	6½	176	4	2
Mich. 1404	Mich. 1405	1 yr.	221	7	2	69	11	8
Mich. 1405	Mich. 1406	1 yr.	360	10	0½	81	2	6
Mich. 1406	Mich. 1407	1 yr.	198	15	0¾	63	14	7
Mich. 1407	Mich. 1408	1 yr.	144	13	1¼	6	8	4
Mich. 1408	29 Nov. 1411	3 yrs. 2 mos.	(No record)			(No record)		
29 Nov. 1411	29 Nov. 1412	1 yr.	8992	3	10	1940	12	11

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1929, p. 27 ff.

² Note: the light coinage was put into circulation at Easter 1412 (Brooke).

³ Henry IV came to the throne 30 Sept. 1399.

In my paper on the heavy silver coinage, already referred to, I suggested that some of Henry IV's earliest silver coins may have borne the name of Edward III and have been struck from surviving obverse dies of that king. This seemingly improbable suggestion was made as the only means of accounting for certain half-groats combining an obverse die of Edward III with a reverse die of the latest issue of Richard II. Nothing comparable appears to have taken place with the gold, which all bears the name of Henry.

Walters was able to record six specimens of the London noble and two of Calais. The number can now be brought up to fourteen of London and four of Calais, and no doubt my list is still incomplete.

It might be expected that more specimens would exist in view of the amount struck. The reduction of the weight in 1412 probably accounts for their disappearance. Many were no doubt melted up unofficially for their increased gold value, and such specimens as came into the hands of the authorities would share the same fate. So that, as is usual when a depreciation of the coinage takes place, the coins immediately preceding it are of great rarity.

Walters called attention to the change in the form of the French arms on English coins which took place about this time. On the nobles of Henry IV's heavy issue three forms are found:

1. *Semée de fleur-de-lis* (Pl., No. 1).
2. Three lis only, one above and two below (Pl., No. 2).
3. Three lis only, two above and one below (Pl., No. 3).

The third form became the one generally adopted in later issues.

THE NOBLES

London. The following varieties are known:

I. These follow the latest nobles of Richard II in having a crescent on the rudder. The first two forms of the French arms are found, and I have subdivided the group into Ia and Ib accordingly. The word "et" is represented by Σ throughout this class, but there are a few minor variants. On one coin, No. Ib 1 in the list, there is no I.M. On another, No. Ib 2, there is a curious I.M., apparently a pierced cross, which, I believe, also occurs on some heavy York pennies. One coin, No. Ib 3, has four ropes from the stern instead of the usual three. On No. Ia 6 the French arms are peculiar. At first glance they appear to be of the third type, but two additional fleurs have been added, although partly concealed by the others, and I am inclined to consider it an attempt at "France ancient".

Coins have been recorded with an annulet on the rudder, but none that I have seen has this mark sufficiently clearly shown to be sure that it is not some form of crescent. I have, therefore, treated them as all of one class (Pl., Nos. 1 and 2). A specimen of this type (No. Ia/II 1) reading hI for hIB , in the Ashmolean Museum collection, has a reverse of type II with a lis over the head of the lion in the second quarter.

II. This type has broken annulet stops on the obverse and one

over the sail. The French arms are of type 3. There is a lis at the head of the lion in the second quarter of the reverse. The word "et" is still represented by Σ , but on the reverse the lettering is of a later style (cf. the letter T) and is of the type associated with the light coinage (Pl., No. 4). There is a noble of the light coinage with these stops having a slipped trefoil added on the side of the ship. If my memory serves me, these two coins are from the same die.¹

III. This type has a pellet on the rudder. The French arms are of type 3. The lettering on both sides is now of the new style and the word "et" is represented by Σ instead of Σ . On the reverse there is a saltire at the *tail* of the lion in the second quarter (Pl., No. 3).

Some estimate may be made as to when these issues were struck. Those of type I are the least rare and may be taken to represent the coinage of at least the first three years or so, when the average issue was 500 pounds. Types II and III are, I believe, represented by single specimens and must be placed towards the end of the heavy issue. The fact that II is connected with I by muling, and with the light coinage by the noble mentioned above, confirms this view.

Calais. All have the flag at the stern of the ship.

I. With coronet *vertically* in the field *to the left* of the rudder. The French arms are of type 1. There is no mast to the ship. One specimen known (Pl., No. 9).

II. With coronet *horizontally on* the rudder. The French arms are of types 1 and 2. Two specimens known (Pl., No. 10).

III. With star on rudder. French arms of type 2 (Pl., No. 11).

This is a type hitherto unknown and the only specimen of it is in the possession of the American Numismatic Society. It is through the courtesy of that Society that I am able to bring this new and most interesting coin to the attention of English numismatists.

THE HALF-NOBLES

Only two heavy half-nobles have survived, and chance has favoured us in that one is of London (Pl., No. 5) and the other of Calais (Pl., No. 6). Both have the French arms of type 2 and Σ for "et". In the case of the London coin there appears to be a crescent on the rudder. On the Calais coin the I.M. is a coronet, which connects it with the noble and quarter-noble. The London half-noble has not been illustrated before, and I have to thank Mr. V. J. E. Ryan for its reproduction here.

THE QUARTER-NOBLES

London. The six specimens of this coin, of which I have records, are peculiar in being all from the same obverse die, although combined with three reverses.² They have the French arms of type 1 and a crescent over the shield which associates them with the nobles of type I. On the reverse the three dies can be distinguished by the

¹ See F.A.W., 1932, lot 227, which may be similar.

² Through an error a *light* quarter-noble is figured in the Plate, No. 7, instead of a heavy one.

different stops after **GLORIA**. Walters¹ records a quarter-noble with the French arms of type 3. This coin was acquired by the British Museum, but I have no record of having seen it there. It may possibly prove to have been a forgery.

Calais. The only two specimens of this coin which I have seen agree in having no obverse I.M. but a coronet as I.M. on the reverse. The French arms are of type 2 (Pl., No. 8). The I.M. definitely associates these quarter-nobles with the larger coins of the Calais mint, and they are particularly interesting as being the only coins of this denomination since Edward III which it has been possible with absolute confidence to attribute to this mint.

The attached lists show the various coins of Henry IV, of which I have records.

THE NOBLES

NOBLES. LONDON

Normal readings:

- Obv.* **hēn / rīd ꝥ dēi** × (or **DI** ꝥ) **GRŦ ꝥ REX ꝥ ꝥNGL ꝥ ꝥ ꝥRŦNꝥ ꝥ**
DNS ꝥ (or **D** ꝥ) **hīB** ꝥ (or **hī**) **ꝥ ꝥQT** (or **ꝥQL** or **ꝥQ**)
Rev. **hīd ꝥ ꝥVTēM ꝥ ꝥRŦNSIēNS ꝥ ꝥER ꝥ MēDIVM ꝥ** (or **MēDIV** ꝥ)
ILLORVM ꝥ (or **ILLORV** ꝥ) **IBŦT**

Type Ia, with crescent on rudder; French arms of type 1.

1. Dawnay Sale; Sotheby's (Lot 41), wt. 112 grs.
Obv. **dēi, d** (for *dominus*), **hīB, ꝥQT**
Rev. **MēDIV ILLORVM**
2. B.M., wt. 119 grs. (Pl., No. 1).
Obv. **DI, DNS, hīB, ꝥQ**
Rev. **MēDIV ILLORVM**
3. C. E. Blunt, *ex* Shirley-Fox and Bruun Collections. Illus. Bruun Catalogue (lot 370), wt. 98.4 grs. (clipped).
Obv. **DI, DNS, hīB, ꝥQ**
Rev. Same die as Ia 2.
4. Formerly in Major Carlyon-Britton's Collection, wt. 110.2 grs.
Obv. **DI, DNS, hī, ꝥQ**
Rev. **MēDIV ILLORVM**
5. Walters Sale 1913 (lot 223), wt. 118½ grs.
Obv. Same die as Ia 4.
6. Mr. R. C. Lockett's Collection, *ex* Montagu Sale (lot 475), wt. 119½ grs.
Obv. **DI, d, hīB, ꝥQT**; peculiar French arms (see p. 23).
Rev. **MēDIV ILLORV**

Type Ib, with crescent on rudder; French arms of type 2.

1. Mr. H. Risch's Collection, wt. 120 grs.
Obv. **dēi, d, hīB, ꝥQ**
Rev. No initial mark. **MēDIV ILLORV**, ꝥ at end of legend.
2. Mr. R. C. Lockett's Collection, *ex* Rashleigh Sale (lot 691), wt. 118.9 grs.
Obv. **DI, DNS, hīB, ꝥQ**
Rev. I.M. Pierced Cross. **MēDIV ILLORVM**

¹ *Num. Chron.* iv, v, p. 292, No. 2.

3. Grueber, *Handbook*, Pl. X, No. 308, wt. 118.8 grs.
Obv. DI, DNS, hIB, TQ; 4 ropes to stern of ship.
Rev. MADIIV ILLORVM
4. Castello Sforzesco, Milan. (*Wt. not recorded.*)
Obv. DEI, D, hIB, TQT
Rev. MADIIV ILLORVM; h in centre of reverse.
5. B.M. (*Wt. not recorded.*) (Pl., No. 2.)
Obv. DI, DNS, hIB, TQ
Rev. MADIIV ILLORVM, z at end of legend.

Mule. Type Ia/II. *Obv.* Crescent on rudder; French arms of type 1. *Rev.* Lis over head of lion in second quarter.

1. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (*Wt. not recorded.*)
Obv. DI, DNS, hI, TQ
Rev. MADIIVM ILLORVM

Type II. *Broken annulet stops on obverse; nothing on rudder; French arms of type 3.*
Rev. Lis over head of lion in second quarter.

1. B.M., wt. 118.4 grs. (Pl., No. 4).
Obv. DI, D, hIB, TQ; omits Σ before TQ.
Rev. MADIIVM ILLORV; (saltire stops).

Type III. *Pellet on rudder, French arms of type 3. Saltire at tail of lion in second quarter.*

1. B.M., wt. 118½ grs. (Pl., No. 3).
Obv. hENR/IC DI, DNS, hIB, TQI; new form of "et" (X).
Rev. MADIIVM ILLORVM

NOBLES. CALAIS

Normal readings:

- Obv.* hEN / RIC z (or hE / NRIC z) DEI z (or DI z) GRN: REX: TNGU: Σ: FRNOC: DNS z (or D z) hIB z (or hI z) Σ: TQT (or TQ)
Rev. IHC: AVTAM: TRNNSIENS: PER: MADIIV: ILLORVM: IBTT
 All have a flag at the stern of the ship.

Type I. *Coronet vertically in field to left of rudder; French arms of type 1.*

1. B.M., wt. 119¼ grs. (Pl., No. 9).
Obv. hEN / RIC, DI, DNS, hIB, TQT; no mast to ship.

Type IIa. *Coronet horizontally on rudder; French arms of type 1.*

1. B.M., wt. 119.3 grs. (Pl., No. 10).
Obv. hEN / RIC, DEI, D, hIB, TQT

Type IIb. *Coronet horizontally on rudder; French arms of type 3.*

1. B.M. (See *Num. Chron.*, iv, v, Pl. XI, 5.) Wt. 103½ grs. (clipped).
Obv. hEN / RIC, DI, DNS, hI, TQ

Type III. *With star on rudder; French arms of type 3.*

1. American Numismatic Society, wt. 118¼ grs. (Pl., No. 11).
Obv. hE / NRIC, DI, DNS, hIB, TQT; (omits Σ before TQT).



1



2



3



5



4



6



7



8



9



10



11



GOLD COINS OF HENRY IV'S HEAVY ISSUE

THE HALF-NOBLES

HALF-NOBLE. LONDON

Mr. V. J. E. Ryan's Collection. (*Wt. not recorded.*) (Pl., No. 5).

Obv. **HEINRIC DI GRÆ REX ANGLÆ SÆ REX DÆ HI FL**; apparently a crescent on the rudder; French arms of type 2.

Rev. I.M. Cross. **DOMINÆ REX INÆ AVRORÆ TVOÆ ARGVTSÆ MÆ**

HALF-NOBLE. CALAIS

B.M., wt. 58½ grs. (Pl., No. 6).

Obv. **HEINRIC DI GRÆ REX ANGLÆ SÆ REX DÆ HI FL**; flag at stern; nothing on rudder; French arms of type 2.

Rev. I.M. Coronet. **DOMINÆ REX INÆ AVRORÆ TVOÆ ARGVTSÆ MÆ**

THE QUARTER-NOBLES

QUARTER-NOBLES. LONDON

Normal readings:

Obv. I.M. Cross. **HEINRICVS DI GRÆ ANGLÆ SÆ REX**; crescent over shield; French arms of type 1.

Rev. I.M. Cross. **ÆXALTABITVR IN GLORIÆ** (or with either * or ✱ at end). Pellet in centre.

Note: *All have the same obverse die.*

1. Montagu Collection (lot 477), wt. 29½ grs. *Rev.* **GLORIÆ**
2. B.M. (See *Num. Chron.*, iv, v, Pl. XI, 4.) Wt. 30 grs. *Rev.* Same die as 1.
3. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (*Wt. not recorded.*) *Rev.* **GLORIÆ**
4. Mr. R. C. Lockett's Collection (*ex* Rashleigh Sale, lot 696), wt. 29 grs. *Rev.* Same die as 3.
5. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, wt. 28.9 grs. *Rev.* Same die as 3.
6. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, wt. 22 grs. *Rev.* **GLORIÆ***

QUARTER-NOBLES. CALAIS

1. B.M., wt. 25 grs. (Pl., No. 8).
Obv. No I.M. **HEINRIC DI GRÆ REX ANGLÆ SÆ REX**; French arms of type 2.
Rev. I.M. Coronet. **ÆXALTABITVR IN GLORIÆ**; pellet in centre.
2. B.M. (*ex* Walters Sale 1913, lot 229), wt. 27.1 grs. (clipped).
The sale catalogue gives a similar obverse reading to 1, but no reverse legend.

KEY TO THE PLATE

1. London Noble, Type Ia, No. 2, Crescent on rudder, Lis semés.
2. " " " Ib, No. 5, " " " Lis 1 over 2.
3. " " " III, Pellet on rudder, Lis 2 over 1.
4. " " " II, Nothing (?) on rudder, Lis 2 over 1, also a lis in 2nd quarter of rev.
5. " " Half-noble; Lis 1 over 2.
6. Calais " " " " " "
7. Light London Quarter-noble (*shown in error*).
8. Calais Quarter-noble, No. 1, Lis 1 over 2.
9. " Noble, Type I, vertical coronet by rudder, Lis semés.
10. " " " IIa, horizontal coronet on rudder, Lis semés.
11. " " " III, star on rudder, Lis 2 over 1.

ON SOME EARLY SILVER COINS OF HENRY VII

By RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.

IN the list facing p. 28 are given full particulars, so far as is possible, of sixteen groats of the open crown design. Three of these are no longer in the writer's collection, but the other thirteen are. Since they all differ from one another and some are unpublished varieties, it is thought that it may be of value to publish these details, which might prove to be of assistance to future workers on the series. Of course, there are other varieties known which are not represented. Yet even these described here raise several points of some numismatic importance that may well be developed.

It is believed that the groat No. 1 (**Pl., No. 1**) is only the second *silver* coin of the reign known on which the mint-mark Sun and Rose dimidiated occurs. The other is the open crown half-groat of London, having obverse mint-mark Lis on Rose and reverse Sun and Rose dimidiated. This reverse is from a Richard III die. This unique coin was formerly in the collection of the late Mr. J. Shirley-Fox and is now in that of the author (**Pl., No. 14**). On the back of his ticket Mr. Shirley-Fox wrote, "Not only the only piece known but also the only known mule between Richard III and Henry VII as groat in R.C.-B. sale lot 145 (1921) very doubtful"; the "very doubtful" presumably referring to the description of the mint-mark.

The illustration (**Pl., No. 1**) shows this nearly as clearly as it is on the original. Until seeing Mr. Shirley-Fox's ticket the writer had no idea that the mint-mark had been in doubt and immediately re-examined the cast of it in his possession. After such re-examination he still believes the mark to be a Sun and Rose dimidiated. For it would appear that there are, at least, two variations in the form of this mint-mark. The earlier form appearing on coins of Edward V and Richard III has the half-sun formed in one piece with six rays (Fig. 1), so:



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

The form of this mint-mark occurring on some coins of Henry VII is different. At least one of the angel dies (cf. Walters Sale, 1913, lot 475 and Pl. XIII, 475) would appear to have been specially prepared for the purpose and *not* altered from a Richard III die, as was the case in most instances. The Sun no longer has six rays but only four, and these are in sets of two (fig. 2). Thus the half-sun is more nearly like two very deeply toothed rose petals and if blurred the mint-mark may easily be mistaken for a simple rose. It will, however,

		<i>Remarks</i>
6U 4 S R	/ LON / DON	
6U 4 S	/ LON / DON	
6U 4 S R S	/ LON / DON	
6U 4 S R S *	/ LON / DON	
6U 4 S R	/ LON <i>lis</i> / DON	*'s in legend are quatrefoils.
6U 4 S R	/ LON <i>lis</i> / DON	Same die as No. 11.
6U 4 S R S	/ LON / DON	
6U 4 S R	/ LON / DON	
6U 4 S R S	/ LON / DON	
U 4 S R R	ON * / DON	
6U 4 S	/ LON <i>lis</i> / DON	Same die as No. 6.
6U 4 S *	/ LON / DON	
U 4 S R S	/ LON / DON	
U 4 S R	/ LON / DON	Late L in LON, no trefoil after DEVM.
U 4 S R S	/ LON * / DON	Quatrefoils after POSVI and LON, very solid round trefoil after DEVM.
6U 4 S *	/ LON * / DON *	No trefoil after adiutore. Quatre- foils after LON and DON.

LIST OF OPEN CROWN GROATS OF HENRY VII

OBVERSE						REVERSE					
<i>Number in list</i>	<i>Mint-mark</i>	<i>Decoration of cusp on breast¹</i>	<i>Stops in legend</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Number in list</i>	<i>Mint-mark</i>	<i>Stops in legend</i>	<i>Legend</i>		<i>Remarks</i>
1	Lis on Rose	N.F.	xx	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC	Pl., No. 1.	1	Sun and Rose dimidiated	xx	POSVI / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON / DON		
2	Lis on Rose	N.F.	xx	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC		2	Lis on Rose	xx	POSVI / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON / DON		
3	Lis on Rose	Rose	xxx	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC		3	Lis on Rose	xxx	POSVI * / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON / DON		
4	Lis on Rose	N.F.	xxx	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC		4	None	x	POSVI * / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS * / LON / DON		
5	Lis on Rose	N.F.	x	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC		5	*	—	POSVI * / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS * / LON lis / DON		*'s in legend are quatrefoils.
6	Lis on Rose	N.F.	xx	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC	Pl., No. 2.	6	*	—	POSVI * / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS * / LON lis / DON		Same die as No. 11.
7	Lis and Rose dimidiated	N.F.	xx	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC	Pl., No. 3.	7	Lis and Rose dimidiated	xx	POSVI * / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON / DON		
8	Lis and Rose dimidiated	N.F.	xx	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC	Pl., No. 4.	8	Rose	xx	POSVI / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON / DON		
9	Lis and Rose dimidiated	N.F.	xx	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC		9	Rose	xx	POSVI * / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON / DON		
10	?None?	F.	*	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC <i>quatrefoil</i>	Crosses at neck, Pl., No. 5.	10	None	—	POSVI / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI TAS / LON * / DON		
11	Cross Fitchée	F.	x	hENRICHVS DEI GRW REX ANGL S FR	Crosses at neck, Pl., No. 6.	11	*	—	POSVI * / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS * / LON lis / DON		Same die as No. 6.
12	Rose	F.	*	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC	Crosses at neck, Pl., No. 7.	12	Rose	*	POSVI / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON / DON		
13	Rose	F.	*	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC	Crosses at neck, quatrefoil on king's left breast? Pl., No. 8.	13	None	*	POSVI * / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON / DON		
14	Rose	F.	*	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC	Crosses at neck, Pl., No. 9.	14	*	*	POSVI * / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON / DON		Late L in LON, no trefoil after DEVM.
15	Rose	F.	*	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC	Crosses at neck, Pl., No. 10.	15	None	*	POSVI * / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON * / DON		Quatrefoils after POSVI and LON, very solid round trefoil after DEVM.
16	Rose	F.	stars	hENRICH DI GRW REX ANGL S FRFRNC	Crosses at neck, Pl., No 11.	16	*	*	POSVI / DEVM T / DIVTOR / E MVM CIVI / TAS / LON * / DON *		No trefoil after adiutore. Quatrefoils after LON and DON.

¹ N.F. = not fleured. F. = fleured.

be noted that the petals of the rose-half of the combined mint-mark are only very slightly or not at all toothed. The groat, No. 1, in question has apparently the mint-mark of this second form which seems to be confined to dies made *ab initio* for Henry VII. The legend, stops, &c., on the reverse of this coin are the same as those which occur also on some reverse dies having mint-marks Lis on Rose and Rose (Pl., No. 1).

A perusal of the above list will show what an amazing variation in detail is to be found in even so small a series. The reverses Nos. 6 and 11 are from the same die, having a small cross or saltire before POSVI as or in lieu of mint-mark. The obverse mint-marks of these two groats are Lis on Rose and Cross Fitchée respectively (Pl., Nos. 2 and 6). The reverses Nos. 5 and 6, although precisely similar, are from different dies. It would appear almost impossible to arrange these groats in a chronological series that is really satisfactory in all respects. So, firstly, it is proposed to try arranging them according to the occurrence on them of the two forms of A, the unbarred and chevron-barred. The position of these is apparently not quite so uniform and consistent as is indicated in *Num. Chron.*, 4th Series, xviii (1918), pp. 213 and 214, as the following table will show:

Table of A's occurring on Henry VII's open crown groats

Obverse				Reverse		
No. in list	GRA	ANGL	FRANC	No. in list	ADIVTORE	TAS
1	—	I	—	1	—	I
2	—	I	—	2	—	I
3	—	I	—	3	—	I
4	—	I	—	4	I	I
5	—	I	—	5	I	I
6	—	I	—	6	I	I
7	—	—	—	7	—	I
8	—	I	—	8	—	I
9	—	I	—	9	—	I
10	I	I	I	10	I	I
11	I	I	Absent	11	I	I
12	I	I	I	12	I	I
13	I	I	I	13	I	I
14	I	I	I	14	I	I
15	I	—	—	15	I	I
16	—	—	—	16	I	I

I = Chevron-barred A

— = Unbarred A

It will be noted that on the obverse of No. 7 none of the A's are barred (Pl., No. 3). On No. 11, owing to lack of space, the abbreviation of the French title is FR* (Pl., No. 6). No. 15 has the first A on the obverse barred and the other two unbarred, thus differing from all the other obverses in the list (Pl., No. 10). No. 16 is definitely the latest of these open crown type groats, but more will be said of this later. It will be remembered that it has mint-mark Rose on obverse. It, like No. 7 (Pl., No. 3), has no barred A's on the obverse, but in

spite of this they are not very closely connected in the series (Pl., No. 11).

The reverses, when classified according to A's, present two varieties, (a) those with one $\overline{\text{A}}$ barred (that in $\overline{\text{TAS}}$), and (b) those having both $\overline{\text{A}}$'s barred. Presumably this variety, (b), is the later, and if so it would seem that the obverses Nos. 4, 5, and 6 should be later than the obverses Nos. 7, 8, and 9. The obverse mint-mark on Nos. 4, 5, and 6 is Lis on Rose, and on Nos. 7, 8, and 9 Lis and Rose dimidiated. Such a transference in order would give the sequence as:

Nos. 1, 2, and 3	.	Mint-mark Lis on Rose,
Nos. 7, 8, and 9	.	Mint-mark Lis and Rose dimidiated,
Nos. 4, 5, and 6	.	Mint-mark Lis on Rose,

thus necessitating the use of the mint-mark Lis on Rose twice in the open crown series. This seems highly improbable to the writer. The alternative would appear to be that the obverse dies of Nos. 4, 5, and 6 (with mint-mark Lis on Rose) were still being used in conjunction with these later in date reverses, Nos. 4, 5, and 6, to strike coins, whilst at the same time coins from later obverse dies, with later mint-marks and similar reverse dies to Nos. 4, 5, and 6, were being struck. In other words, there was an overlap of these "mules" (Nos. 4, 5, and 6) into later issues. Proceedings such as these would seem to complicate unduly any system of quarterly privy marks for pyx-trial purposes, if such there was. The writer would attribute the continued use of these old obverse dies merely to die economy or possibly, though this seems less likely, to carelessness or accident. Here the author would like, if he may, to digress for a little while on this subject of privy marks and trials of the pyx.

Firstly, then, it seems to him most unlikely that such a practice as three-monthly trials was ever observed, with regularity, over any lengthy period, such as has been suggested. We all know that there is a vast difference between issuing an order and seeing that it is obeyed. A regulation that may at first be carried out, as a rule, soon falls into desuetude: especially in the course of years and under very differing administrations, for we are now considering not merely a period of a few years but one of many decades. It appears that some of the records continue to order quarterly pyx-trials, but this may have been, as in other matters, largely due to slavish copying on the part of clerks who prepared the documents. The author thinks it more than likely that such instructions were looked upon with a blind eye by all concerned, in fact, "more honour'd in the breach than the observance".

Rather vague statements have been made on occasions during recent years to the effect that various minor variations, e.g. stops, forms of certain letters, and *even* their mutilation and subsequent "first aid" treatment, subsidiary marks in various positions, &c.—found on certain coins under consideration by the various authors concerned—provide a sufficient number of combinations to serve for quarterly privy marks for pyx-trial purposes over a certain number

of years. The writer has never, however, seen these suggested privy marks tabulated and published as a complete series for the period under consideration. Neither are any reasons given for the selection of some features as privy marks, whilst others, which would seem equally distinctive, important, and well suited to the purpose, are rejected. It seems to him, moreover, that, provided a sufficiently large number of coins of any selected Plantagenet period were available to work on, anyone with good eyesight and average perspicacity could find enough of these minor details, not merely to fill such alleged quarterly pyx requirements for even a lengthy reign, but enough, one is almost tempted to say, to cover a period of centuries. Let us be content to say for a considerable period.

It has even been suggested that the method of privy marking employed at the time enabled an old Richard II half-groat die to be re-used as a means of die economy during the coinage of Henry V. If one were so used, one is tempted to ask, why were not *many* such dies used to make the economy substantial and worth while? Surely the more likely explanation is that this particular die was used accidentally? Again, why restrict this alleged economy to the use of a half-groat die, one of the scarcest denominations, when a very real and substantial economy could have been effected by making use of old Richard II *groat* dies on an extensive scale? In another instance we are asked to believe that, "It is not surprising to find the marks on various denominations differing at certain periods; if, for example, the letter P was used at one time for the privy mark, some other mark was necessary on the coins which did not bear that letter in their legends."¹ Quite frankly the author cannot believe any mint official would be so thoughtless as to choose a letter that was *not* to be found on all the denominations concerned. There would be no difficulty in so doing. Elsewhere it has been suggested in connexion with the coinage of Henry VII² that the four quarterly varieties required by this theory of quarterly privy-marks were provided by each mint-mark having two sets of stops and each mint-mark being united with that on either side of it by "muled" coins. If this *was* the method adopted to differentiate quarterly issues, how is it that the quarterly issues identified by the use of "mules" between the mint-marks are so consistently represented by such small issues? For undoubtedly these "muled" coins are decidedly scarce, if not rare. Assuming for a moment that such a system *was* employed, where would the groat (subsequently described in this article) having obverse mint-mark pellet and Heraldic Cinquefoil and on reverse no mint-mark but a pellet stop after **ADIVTORÆ**, fit into such a series? Also there are many composite marks used at the end of this reign³ which certainly strongly suggest that they were used for differencing various issues. For example, a pellet, two pellets, a pellet and saltire, by the mint-mark; the use of two mint-marks on the same side of the coin, &c.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1930, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 253.

³ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, 1925-6, p. 62A.

At other times numerous peculiar marks were employed. To instance only a few: the extra pellet found in two quarters of the reverse on some of the York pennies of Thomas Rotherham in the reign of Henry VII. The curious "stalk-like" object connecting the shield of the Royal Arms with the inner circle found on Canterbury groats of the fifth coinage of Henry VIII. Sometimes this is in the fourth and at other times in the third quarter. On one half-groat of this mint, in the author's collection, a similar "stalk" is found in the third quarter; other half-groats of this mint and coinage have a pellet in the field under the fourth quarter of the shield or no mark at all. Many, but not all, York groats of this coinage have this "stalk-like" mark connecting the top sinister corner of the shield to the inner circle. Then there are the pellets found under the third quarter of the shield, and breaking the beading of the inner circle in the fourth quarter on many Bristol coins of Edward VI of both Sharrington's and Chamberlain's issues; the same marks being also found on the Irish harp groats minted at the Bristol mint. It would seem therefore in at least the last two instances that these marks were a privy mark of the issuing mint, but as their use extended over a period of some years it can have had no connexion with the suggested three-monthly pyx-trials.

What has been said above does not mean that the writer regards these details of workmanship, &c., as unimportant. Far otherwise; for the chronological arrangement of a series they would seem essential.

How spasmodic the trials of the pyx were is amply shown by Ruding,¹ meagre though the surviving records are. The only recorded account of a trial of the pyx,² giving many details of the proceedings, that has apparently survived, was held in 1475. It does not lend itself to easy interpretation. The period of coinage covered was fifty-five months, and the number of satchels thirty-four. Two more satchels represented coinage delivered outside the exchange in the Tower.

Such privy marks as were used would presumably be very readily recognizable by the Lords of the Council and jurors once they had been informed as to what to look for, assuming that such examination was a necessary part of their duties. Surely these privy marks would not take the form of mutilated and repaired letters, &c., requiring in these days the aid of strong magnifying glasses to view them with certainty! It seems much more probable that these marks that are so difficult to detect are those by which the various die-sinkers were able to recognize and identify their individual work, that is if some of them have in reality any significance at all.

But to return from this rather lengthy digression to the list of coins under consideration: No. 6 was struck from the same reverse die as No. 11, the obverse of the latter having mint-mark Cross Fitchée and

¹ *Annals of the Coinage of Gt. Britain*, ii, pp. 449-55.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1926, p. 108.

the fuller reading **HenRICVS** * **DAI** * which necessitated the shorter abbreviation **RR** * (for reasons of space) and consequent omission of the third **A** in the obverse legend (**Pl., No. 6**).

In the case of No. 7 it really looks as though the barring of the **A** in **ANGL** had been omitted unintentionally (**Pl., No. 3**).

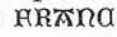
The case of obverse No. 15, which has the first **A** barred but not the other two, can scarcely, however, be so accounted for (**Pl., No. 10**).

The second method of arrangement proposed is according to whether the breast-cusp of the tressure is unfleured or fleured, and in conjunction with this the absence or presence of crosses by the king's neck. If we include the groat No. 3 with a rose on the breast-cusp among the non-fleured coins (where it seems definitely to belong), then the series in our list, Nos. 1 to 9 non-fleured, and Nos. 10 to 16 fleured, appear to be properly grouped together.

While on the subject of the decoration of the breast-cusp a point occurs to the writer which apparently has not been noticed in connexion with the groats of Edward V and Richard III. It would appear that *all* the groats with the name of Edward having the mint-marks Sun and Rose dimidiated and Boar's Head have the breast-cusp fleured, whereas those with the name of Richard and the same mint-marks have no fleur on the breast-cusp. In cases of doubt where the first half of the king's name is obscure, this test should make allocation to the correct king certain.

It has been stated above that the obverse of No. 16 in our list is definitely that of the latest of the open crown type groats. The stops throughout the obverse legend are six-rayed stars (**Pl., No. 11**). In *Num. Chron.*, 4th Series, xviii, p. 214, it has been stated that "A mullet occasionally found is *not* a stop". The "mullet" has six rays and should more properly be called a star. The writer has a groat with obverse no mint-mark, plain double-arched crown, crosses at neck, trefoil stops, barred **A**'s, trefoil decoration on the tressure and reading **RRANDI**; the reverse has no mint-mark, unbarred **A**'s, a six-rayed star after **POSVI** and **TTS** (**Pl., No. 12**). It would appear, therefore, that the latest type of open crown groat should have the obverse as No. 16 in our list with the reverse as **Pl. No. 12**. It will be noted that the "true" coin would have *unbarred* **A**'s and *star* stops both sides. The first "true" groats with double-arched crown have crosses at the neck, no mint-mark either side, trefoil stops and all the **A**'s barred. These were followed by similar coins without the crosses at the neck, which in turn were succeeded by those with mint-mark Heraldic Cinquefoil. What must have been one of the earliest of these last is here illustrated as it seems to have some previously unnoticed peculiarities. The obverse has mint-mark *pellet* and Cinquefoil, trefoils as stops, the **A** in **ANGL** barred, but not the other two, cusp on breast unfleured. The reverse has no mint-mark, a trefoil after **POSVI** and a *pellet* after **ADIVTORE**, no other stops, barred **A**'s (**Pl., No. 13**). The presence of the pellet on both sides seems to point to it being a "true" coin.

No. 13 in our list appears to have a quatrefoil upon the king's left breast (Pl., No. 8).

To turn to the mint-marks found on the open crown groats. No. 10 in our list is unfortunately clipped. Whether it has a mint-mark on the obverse is doubtful. There is very little space for one. The coin is exceptional in having a quatrefoil after , the other stops being trefoils.

The mint-marks of the series are:

<i>On obverse</i>	<i>On reverse</i>
1. Lis on Rose.	1. Sun and Rose dimidiated.
2. Lis on Rose (with Rose on Breast-cusp).	2. Lis on Rose.
3. Lis and Rose dimidiated.	3. Lis and Rose dimidiated.
4. None (?).	4. None.
5. Cross Fitchée.	5. Small cross or saltire (with lis in subsidiary position).
6. Lis.	6. Small cross or saltire.
7. Rose.	7. Rose.

The issue seems to have extended over a period of seven years from November 1485 to November 1492. The number of mint-marks known seems about right for such a period, and if it is granted that old dies occasionally survived and were continued in use after their "proper period", without such use having any *special significance*, then it would seem that the issue lends itself to fairly satisfactory chronological arrangement. If, however, it be maintained that the use of earlier dies after their "proper period" *has* special significance and was intentional, so as to provide fresh combinations, then arrangement of the series accordingly seems to result in chaos and involves the use and re-use of mint-marks, &c., in what appears to the writer haphazard fashion.

(Mr. Carlyon-Britton's remarks come as a timely reminder of the danger of reading more in the minor variations of coins than those variations were intended to convey. Whilst it is clear that throughout the Middle Ages a system was in force by which marks were put on and altered periodically to distinguish coins for the purpose of the pyx-trials, it is equally clear that the system did not always work as laid down in the indentures. Those who have written on privy marks have at times failed to take into account that certain of these marks are undoubtedly not connected with pyx-trials, but are more likely to be connected with the internal administration of the Mint. It may even be that some marks in the Middle Ages, as in the Stuart period, indicated the source of the metal from which the coins were struck, though there is no documentary proof of this. Mr. Carlyon-Britton makes a good point when he stresses that the muling of two consecutive types is unlikely ever in itself to have constituted a pyx-mark. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the orders in the indentures were fitfully carried



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



EARLY GROATS OF HENRY VII

out and that the chief hope of the proper arrangement of the medieval series lies in the careful and attentive study of privy marks.

C. E. B., D. F. A.)

In view of what I have already written above I do not think that any reply is necessary to the above comment by C. E. B. and D. F. A., but as silence might be interpreted, in some quarters, as agreement with the views they express, perhaps a very few words should be added by me.

Their last sentence seems to me to beg the whole question. How, if we do not know what constitutes a privy mark, can we give them "careful and attentive study"?

My idea is that now, as in the past, "the chief hope of the proper arrangement of the medieval series lies in the careful study of *all* the innate evidence provided by the coins themselves." R. C.-B.

KEY TO THE PLATE

1. Groat No. 1 in list.
2. " 6 " , same reverse die as No. 11 in list.
3. " 7 "
4. " 8 "
5. " 10 "
6. " 11 " , same reverse die as No. 6 in list.
7. " 12 "
8. " 13 "
9. " 14 "
10. " 15 "
11. " 16 " , with star stops on obverse.
12. " arched-crown type, with star stops on reverse.
13. " " " with mint-mark pellet and Heraldic Cinquefoil on obverse.
14. Half-groat, London; mule, Henry VII-Richard III.

SOME ASPECTS OF ENGLISH CURRENCY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

By C. A. WHITTON

THE end of the sixteenth century marks the close of an epoch in the history of currency in this country. The available supplies of bullion had long been inadequate for the economic life of the time, so that a shortage of money seemed an abiding feature of it. But just when the trouble seemed hopeless a remedy was found. In the reign of Elizabeth new and apparently inexhaustible supplies of bullion began to arrive in the Old World from the New, and gradually the shortage of money was relieved. It is true that the new era brought with it problems of its own, but these are not our present concern. We have to consider an economic structure that has since become alien to us, a structure based primarily on the fact that the coins employed in trade had an intrinsic value.

The transactions of trade are both large and small. The larger transactions, at least from the thirteenth century, were negotiated mainly by credit, through bills of exchange, and fall rather within the province of the economic historian¹ than of the numismatist. But some part was played by currency, and this must here be considered. Even partial payment in such transactions was facilitated by the use of a more valuable medium than silver, and for this gold was employed. For many years such gold was of foreign mintage, but the political and commercial importance which this country acquired during the reigns of Henry III and Edward I produced in the reign of Edward III a national gold currency.² It was, however, the silver coinage which formed the bulk of the nation's currency, and it was this which principally engaged the attention of the king's monetary advisers.

In the Middle Ages there was a constant dearth of silver, due to three main causes: first, to the scarcity of newly mined metal to replace the natural loss by wear and tear, secondly to the increasing employment of money in trade, and thirdly, since banking³ was

¹ See, e.g., Lipson, *Economic History of England*, vol. i (1936), ch. x, and *Trade Studies in the 15th Century*, edd. Power and Postan (1933), *passim*.

² By the proclamation of Jan. 1343/4, Edward III made gold legal tender for sums over £1; acceptance was optional below £1. See Ruding, i, p. 219. The use of gold, Mr. D. F. Allen has reminded me, arose from the revived trading with the Levant which had petered out during the full feudal period of domestic economy. The gold came through Italy because that country had the carrier trade. This foreign gold, which long remained in use in England side by side with our own, had by George III's time become rather a curiosity. Parson Woodforde on 18 July 1769, "for two three Pound and twelve shilling pieces . . . gave Seven new guineas of George the Third", or just a little over their current value. The pieces were perhaps Spanish quadruple pistoles.

³ For the growth of banking in England see *The Pound Sterling* (Feaveryear, Oxford, 1931), ch. v ff. It began to develop rapidly in the second half of the eighteenth century. Feaveryear, p. 152, quotes Burke's statement that in 1750 there were not 12 bankers' shops outside London. By 1793 there were nearly 400.

unknown in England and credit confined to international commerce, to the immobilization of much silver both in the form of plate and as cash.¹ Clearly a prerequisite for securing an increase in the currency in circulation was to promote a flow of bullion to the Mint. But the English Mint was not without competitors in the bullion market. There was a rival market abroad, which was the more serious owing to the heavy charges in England for mintage and seigniorage. One result of this was that money constantly gravitated into the hands of certain men, usually the goldsmiths, who culled out the heavier pieces and melted them down for sale at a better price abroad. The bullion thus obtained was hoarded against a rise in the price of it, and the shortage of currency thus further accentuated. The dearth in England was only partially counteracted by the influx from abroad² of counterfeit money, which was all the more welcome because of the shortage. The task of the counterfeiter was made easier by the frequency of clipped coins. The presence of so many of these made the forgeries harder to detect even when they were light. If the situation was slightly relieved by these processes it is clear that it was constantly precarious and constantly deteriorating.

There were additional complicating factors; although the export of bullion was illegal, the very fact that the statutes relating to it needed frequent re-enactment proves how unavailing³ they were. So long as trade is not hampered by restrictions the influx of bullion into a country depends largely on the "balance of trade". But in the fourteenth century the passage of silver from one country to another was anything but smooth, since all countries then cherished the belief that their strength and stability were closely dependent on the amount of currency existing within their borders. Whenever possible a merchant importing goods into a country was required to spend a portion of the money he received for them upon some of the produce of that country.⁴

Early in the reign of Edward III the shortage of silver had become comparatively serious. Edward III, however, was faced with a different problem from that which had confronted his grandfather. Edward I, by reason of his economical habits and his skilful exploitation of foreign trade, had enjoyed a full Exchequer⁵—a hoard to draw upon. But the Exchequer was now empty, owing partly to the extravagance of Edward II and partly to the warlike disposi-

¹ Including the hoards in Monasteries.

² See "The English Currency under Edward I", by Crump and Hughes, *Economic Journal*, 1895, pp. 50-67, where the authors point out that probably the crockards, pollards, and rosaries that found their way here from the continent were not coins of any particular mint or state, but rather a private venture coined perhaps in Flanders especially for use in England. They were of good silver but profitable to make since they escaped mintage charges.

³ See Ruding *passim* in vol. i and his "Conclusion" in vol. ii, p. 125. Pepys (27 Jan. 1664) notes that Slingsby the Mint-Master fully realized that "the old law of prohibiting bullion to be exported . . . ever was a folly".

⁴ See, e.g., the legislation of Richard II, Ruding i. 246.

⁵ It is estimated that during his reign Edward I quadrupled the silver in circulation. See Crump and Hughes, *op. cit.*

tion of Edward III himself. The problem of encouraging a flow of silver to the Mint was not simplified by the king's determination to do what Henry III had been unable to do a hundred years earlier, namely to establish a gold coinage in England. This involved a proper appraisement of the relative values of gold and silver, and since our English gold currency would have to circulate beside an already established foreign one, it involved a consideration of international finance.

But the silver coinage was his main concern, and the scheme which he devised to secure a supply has recently been described as revolutionary.¹ From time immemorial the weight of the sterling had remained at $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains, except for the slight reduction of 1279, when it became $22\frac{1}{4}$ grains. It was now argued that if a large reduction were made in the sterling a larger number of coins would lie between the old and the new standards in weight, and would so come to the Mint. The king therefore in 1351 reduced the sterling to 18 grains. The method was adopted by his successors and remained the practice for some 200 years, until Henry VIII devised a different one. Whatever the sponsors of these schemes thought at the time it is evident to us that they were merely palliatives and could never have a permanent effect. The various reductions of Edward III, Henry IV, and Edward IV lasted as we know for between fifty and sixty years.² The new money was immediately clipped and the whole process was repeated.

It is clear that by the middle of the fourteenth century circumstances had arisen which demanded a very greatly extended use of currency in trade. A convenient starting-point for their examination will be the period immediately preceding the great recoinage of Edward III in 1351. In the first place the number of "commutations" of the services of the villeins by means of a money payment began to increase rapidly; secondly, during the fourteenth century the commerce of the country began to be conducted more and more on a capitalist basis;³ thirdly, and chiefly owing to this fact, the standard of living began to rise. It was a time of much indulgence in luxury articles, fine clothes and wines, and expensive armour for the prevailing tournaments and pageantry.

The commutations of labour services were an indication of the decay of the old Manorial System. They had been in process for some time,⁴ but now became more numerous. Under the old system, dating from Saxon times, the majority of the population had been self-supporting and had little occasion to use money. The villeins, that is to say, the tenants of the manor, paid their dues mostly in services

¹ See the Report of the Chairman (Mr. Reginald McKenna) of the Midland Bank in *The Times*, 30 July 1936. It was revolutionary only in England, not in Europe.

² The sterling was reduced to 18 grains in 1351, to 15 grains in 1412, to 12 grains in 1464, and to $10\frac{3}{4}$ grains in 1526.

³ Lipson, *op. cit.*, p. 570.

⁴ One is recorded before 1110 at Harmondsworth in Middlesex, Lipson, *op. cit.*, p. 89 f.n.

or in kind. As time went on, however, more and more villeins found themselves in a position to commute these services for a money payment, or in other words to pay a rent for their holdings. The advantage of commuting was not all on one side, and the tenants were not discouraged from doing so since the lord of the manor found, perhaps not surprisingly, that hired labour could be more satisfactory than compulsory service. Thus a money economy began to replace what has been called the "economy of commodities" of a self-supporting people. This change was at one time attributed to the Black Death of 1348, but it is now agreed that the plague merely accelerated an already existing trend. In point of fact, the Black Death exercised two contrary influences on the coinage; its direct effect was to increase the amount of money per head of the population. During 1348 nearly half the population perished, but the amount of currency remained unaltered; labour was short and the surviving peasants could command higher wages. With their increased resources the number of commutations rose rapidly. But in a few years this effect wore off. Since the quantity of labour available, and therefore of produce, was reduced, prices began to rise; that is, the value of money fell. It immediately became profitable to export currency, since its bullion value was greater abroad,¹ and it was the ensuing crisis which precipitated the great recoinage of 1351.

The commutations and the impetus given to them by the Black Death had a further effect on the economic life of the country. The Peasants' Revolt of 1381 was in a sense the culminating point of a movement which had been in process for some time. Large numbers of peasants found themselves in a position, despite prohibitive legislation, to offer themselves as free agents to work. The work they found was mostly provided by the wool trade. "The English Wool Trade", say Messrs. Crump and Hughes,² writing of the time of Edward I, "is one of these facts of history that have acquired a resemblance to the justice of Aristides. . . . But it is the key to the power of England over the question of the appreciation of silver. The French Government of the time felt the difficulty in its acutest form; the value of silver in that country fluctuated enormously from month to month; while at the same time in England the store of silver was gradually increasing. There was, however, no danger of an over-supply. The rapid growth of an internal money economy demanded a similar increase in the supply of money, and . . . the country was ready to make up for any lack of a regular supply by accepting other coins." Until the reign of Edward III the wool trade consisted chiefly in the export of raw wool to the Flanders markets.³ But early in that king's reign the wool industry underwent an important change. In 1331 Edward induced Flemish weavers⁴ to settle in England. Soon the

¹ Feaveryear, *The Pound Sterling*, p. 17.

² *Op. cit.*

³ Such produce was presumably paid for abroad; the English exporters would in that case be hampered by the restrictions which forbade them to bring home the full value in cash.

⁴ Lipson, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

merchants became manufacturers, exporting not only the raw wool but the woven cloth itself. Here was the work for the emancipated peasants. Nothing further need be said to explain the rapid growth of the towns¹ in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the creation of a class of capitalists, and of a population no longer self-supporting but dependent for its existence upon *purchased* commodities. An abundant supply of currency became a vital necessity. The money required in England was largely silver; the use of gold did not greatly increase, since the larger transactions were conducted more and more extensively by credit. Statistics show² that during the hundred years between 1350 and 1450 the amount of silver coined at the various mints in England was roughly 500,000 lb.; between 1450 and 1550 it was approximately double this, 1,000,000 lb. The gold figure during each of these two centuries remained practically stationary at about 250,000 lb. Since business was very much greater during the second of these periods than the first, it is evident that credit largely replaced the use of gold.

The growth of capitalism and the far-reaching effects it had on the economic and financial life of the community are well illustrated by the wool and cloth trades. The variety of separate processes involved, such as spinning, weaving, carding, fulling, dyeing, and so forth, were peculiarly suited to capitalist methods.³ In all these departments of the industry the relations between the producer of the raw material and the consumer of the manufactured article tended to become less direct. The wool-growers found it more convenient and more economical to employ men to save them the trouble and expense of personally transporting their goods abroad. Thus arose a number of intermediaries, such as the Wool Stapler, who bought the wool from the grower (or from his agent the "Woolman") and sold it either to the foreign buyer or to the home manufacturer, the "Clothier" as he came to be called. The advantage of the employment of these "middlemen" is obvious. The chief function of the woolman, for instance, would be to collect and store the wool, and so be able to supply the precise amount the market could absorb. Such middlemen often grew rich, and the fact that they frequently employed their wealth to good purpose, for example in the building of churches, schools, and hospitals, made them important.⁴

The Wool Staplers in particular became a very influential body. They were often able to secure modifications, to their own advantage, of the government's foreign policy and bullion regulations. As we

¹ The resultant rural depopulation alarmed contemporary philosophers; cf. More's denunciation of sheep, which had become "so great devourers . . . that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves". (*Utopia*, bk. I.)

² Bullion Accounts, *Num. Chron.*, 1913, p. 200, and 1929, p. 27.

³ Lipson, *History of the Woollen and Worsted Industries*, p. 46.

⁴ Even the nobility were not above engaging in commerce; Cardinal Beaufort himself may have helped also to finance the pious foundations of Henry VI at Eton and Cambridge. Those noble families who kept aloof from trade often found themselves embarrassed; thus Sir John Paston had to pawn his doublet to get a few marks: see Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, iii. 559.

have already said, these aimed at preventing the export of bullion from the country, and involved the Staplers in the irksome necessity of a special journey to London to pay their subsidies and customs at the Tower. The establishment of the staple, that is of a fixed mart through which exports must pass, at Calais in 1363, gave the Staplers much greater freedom of action. By bringing the export trade under official cognizance it not only facilitated direct relations with foreign rulers, but by forcing the stream of trade through a single channel cheapened the collection of customs.¹

The Mint at Calais established by Edward III, or at least first utilized, in 1363 helped to simplify the bullion export regulations. To increase the supply of home currency it was made compulsory, although not at first, for the Stapler to bring a portion of the money he received for his wool to the Mint at Calais for conversion into English money. Ultimately the Hundred Years War took an unfavourable turn and the Calais Mint became unproductive; the varying amounts of English coinage bearing the Calais mint-name reflect the fortunes of war during the eighty years or so of the Mint's existence. They reached their peak just after the brief reign of Henry V and then rapidly declined. The large quantity of Calais coinage bearing the name of Henry VI shows the measure of our success in keeping the way open for the Flanders wool importers to bring their money to the Calais market; its sudden disappearance after about 1440 tells of our reverses.

It is possible that the enormous Calais coinage of Henry VI has another significance. We may reasonably ask why, between 1422 and 1430, so much more of the bullion accruing from the wool exports was minted at Calais than at London, particularly silver. The silver minted at Calais was employed, and perhaps primarily employed, to pay the wages of the Calais garrison. In the early part of the Hundred Years War, from about 1363, the tide of war was running in our favour, and the garrison required at Calais was perhaps comparatively small. But soon after the death of Henry V, in 1422, the tide of war turned, and a much larger garrison was probably required. It is known at least that the upkeep of the garrison began to be particularly costly from then onwards,² and it may be that the famous Annulet, Rosette, and Pinecone silver pieces were struck so abundantly at Calais because the need of currency there was so immediate and so great. At all events it is certain that with the decay of the Calais Mint mutinies in the garrison because of unpaid wages are recorded more than once.

So far I have considered rather the machinery for the provision of money and the use made of it by the country at large. It may be instructive to study also the purposes to which it was applied by individuals.

Information is to be sought rather among private papers than

¹ *Trade Studies in the 15th Century*, p. 40.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 301-7.

public records. The famous Paston Letters contain few allusions to the actual spending and passing of money, but there are two other and more helpful sources of information. These are the Cely Papers¹ and the Stonor Letters.² The Celys were a family of Essex Wool Staplers, and the letters cover the years between 1475 and 1488. The Stonors were, and still are, Buckinghamshire squires and landowners. The Cely Papers are mainly concerned with the family business of wool exporting, and throw considerable light on the problems of packing and transporting wool to Calais and selling it there. They deal chiefly with the larger, wholesale transactions, and contain frequent allusions to the fluctuations of the exchange, and the difficulty which the Staplers often experienced in obtaining satisfactory payment for their goods. A letter dated 6 August 1478 calls attention to several points of interest. It alludes first to the liability of the Staplers for the payment of the wages of the Calais garrison; it laments the fact that the Calais Mint no longer existed, and shows that when it did exist the Staplers had been better able to control the exchange.

Another letter shows that fairly considerable sums of money were sent by messenger, in spite of the hazardous nature of such journeys. On 27 March 1484 we read: "Item . . . I send unto your masterships by the bringer of this letter who his name is . . . attorney for Steven Gibson Mercer of London sealed in a canvas bag £24³ sterling whereof is in Carolus groats £23 sterling and 3 Angelettes⁴ wrapped in paper 20/-." Elsewhere a writer describes his cash in hand. In a memorandum headed "redey money by me" and totalling £147. 4s. 4d., mention is made of money of ten different states. The heterogeneous nature of medieval currency everywhere is well known. The Introduction to the Cely Papers records a list, compiled by Barclay Head, of the various coins mentioned as having been received by the Celys in the course of trade. It includes the Andrew guilder of Scotland, the Arnoldus gulden of Gueldres, the Carolus of Charles of Burgundy, French crowns, the David and Falewe of the bishopric of Utrecht, the Hettinus groat of Westphalia, the French Louis d'or, the Limburg groat, the Milan groat, the Nimueguen groat, the Philippe and Lion d'or of Brabant, the Plaques of Utrecht, the Postlates of various bishops, the Scots Rider, the Burgundy Rider, and the Florin Rhenau of the bishopric of Cologne.

The Stonor Letters, which extend from 1290 to 1483, illustrate usually a more intimate aspect of the use of money. The quantities mentioned are smaller and the purposes to which they were applied are more numerous. The letters reveal all the ordinary village trades such as those of carpenter, smith, and wheelwright, in full swing early in the fifteenth century, and the casual employment of many different

¹ *Camden Society's Proceedings*, 3rd Series, vol. i.

² *Op. cit.*, 3rd Series, vols. xxix, xxx, xxxiv.

³ With a purchasing power perhaps 25 to 30 times greater than to-day. See G. G. Coulton, *The Meaning of Medieval Moneys*, Hist. Assoc. Leaflets, no. 95.

⁴ Presumably a loose term for Angels.

workmen in the maintenance of buildings and the common processes of agriculture. The most fruitful sources of information on currency are the accounts of expenditure rendered by factors or other trusted servants of the squire for sums disbursed for wages and current expenses. Some of these payments are evidently made for "piece-work". The prevalence of piecework usually argues not only an abundance of work but the existence of a better class of labourer, aware of the market value of his skill and strength, and able to earn a better living going from one casual task to another, than in permanent service at an annual wage. In an account from October 1468 to July 1469 an item runs: "To Rawlyn Clerke for the eryng (ploughing) of xij akys lende in lityle Derrabut fyle, xij.s. iiij.d." Other records of casual labour relate to hoeing and sheep-shearing (both suitable operations for piecework). An earlier account, dated 21 July 1378, shows the Stonor household using purchased food to a surprising degree. The items bought included bread, beer and wine, meat and poultry, milk, fish, flour, ginger and spices, mustard, garlic and onions, coal and candles, and a quantity of oats for horses. It was high summer, and visitors, we read, were present, and though some of these items must have been purchased in any case, and though for the normal family the produce of the "home-farm" may have more nearly sufficed, the account shows how extensive, even in a rural area, was the trade in foodstuffs. The populace was evidently far from self-supporting and had abundant use for money. The account is particularly interesting since it gives the price of several items. For instance, 5 capons cost 20 pence. Exactly one hundred years later, in 1478, prices were practically unchanged. Alice Stonor's household account for that year shows even more extensive buying, especially at festivals like Christmas. It specifies the purchase of much poultry, eggs, and bacon, and continues with a description of imported and non-perishable articles purchased in bulk and brought by barge from London to Henley, the nearest river-town to the village of Stonor. These include herrings and dried cod-fish, assortments of fruit and spice, with a small quantity ($2\frac{1}{2}$ lb.) of sugar, which was evidently a scarce commodity. The account also notes the charges for carriage to the barge and wharfage.

The servants and the tenant farmers of the squire stood in no less need of currency. A servant engaged "fro Michael masse the yere of the regne of Kyng Edward the iiijthe the viij yere by a whole yere, takyng for his labur xij.s. iiij.d., and a gounne cloth" was happily not obliged to wait the whole twelve months before receiving any wages. He received frequent advances from his employer as occasion arose for necessary expenses for shoes and clothing, and outings in his master's service. He seems to have been obliged to buy his own weapons ("to bye wyth a bowe xij.d., to bye wyth arowe hedes ij.d."), and pay for his own carousals ("for drinkyng money geve by our parson ij.d."; "parson" presumably means "person").

A tenant's letter of 1470 (the writer had formerly been in his land-

lord's service) shows the difficulties of the small farmer to have been the same then as they have always been. If the tenant cannot find 20s. in cash, he writes, he will have to sacrifice 6s. 8*d.* which he has already laid out in earnest money for a gelding. If his landlord will advance him the sum he asks for he will make money of his "oxyn to keep with my promise".

Perhaps the most intimate glimpse of currency which the letters afford is a review by Thomas Stonor in about 1425 of his store of ready money on the occasion of his mother's death. In a memorandum Thomas notes the exact composition of the money which had been in his mother's possession. On the "berying day", he notes, he "receaved of my mothers mony in golde and sylver this som ffoloyng, in Kyng Hary pence this som xxx.s. xij.d. In golde v.li. In grotes and pence ijte (half-groats), xiiij.s. iiij.d. Summa totalis vij.li. iiij.s. iiij.d." The interesting item in the dowager's store of cash is the mention of "Kyng Hary" pence. We may infer that any heavier pence, such as those of Edward III, Richard II, or heavy pence of Henry IV had been abstracted and disposed of whenever money had been received. In an endorsement to the account Thomas Stonor illustrates the contents of the money-chest of a landowner of the time. He has, he says, "in grotes xv.s.; in pence and pence of ijte, iiij.li. vij.s. vj.d." This represents a fairly large number of half-groats and pence, clearly a very pressing need for a large employer of labour.

Such expense was by no means restricted to agricultural labour. An occasion such as a funeral could involve great expense. When Thomas Stonor was buried in 1474 his heirs laid out the enormous sum of £74. 2s. 5*d.* on his obsequies, or about £2,000 to-day. The expense included the cost of elaborate decoration of the high altar with cloths, candlesticks, and censers, of vestments for the clergy, and silver ornaments for the hearse, decorated with "blakke clothe to the ground". Black cloth and candles, too, were placed in the church wherever room could be found for them, and money was spent on "syngynge wyne and syngynge breed". Finally there was a vast outlay on the funeral feast, a gargantuan affair lasting several days, in which the whole village seems to have taken part. In the account payment is recorded for every separate item of food, drink, or service.

We do not often find in a medieval document any mention of aesthetic appreciation of coins. Yet we know it existed. Admiration for the Edwardian noble was general on the Continent. Testimony is supplied by compliments both direct and indirect. Perhaps the sincerest were the remarkably close imitations of it made in Flanders by the Dukes of Burgundy. The angel and Rose Noble were similarly imitated. Indirect compliments are sometimes to be discerned in the envy and jealousy, whether expressed or implied, of our enemies. The Treaty of Bretigny, which altered the legend on the noble, had its effect on the French coinage also. To provide a ransom for Jean Le Bon, who was captured at Poitiers in 1356, a new gold piece was minted in France. It was called—and was the first coin so

called—a franc, and though the term may have expressed the national wish to see the king “free” once more (the design shows a knight in armour riding to war), it has been pointed out¹ that “franc” was also in one of its meanings the equivalent of the English “noble”, and that the term may have been intended as a patriotic reply to the universally accepted English coin. Later on, after the reverses of Henry VI, our enemies mingled their envy with open derision. “Take off the ship”, they said, “from your precious money and stamp a sheep upon it to signify your sheepish minds.”²

Admiration for the groats of Edward I is evident from the traces of gilding and mounting to be found on them; they were perhaps set aside and worn as brooches, although this may have been partly due to the prophylactic virtues of the sacred legend they bore.³ In type and fabric, of course, apart from the bust, a traditionally English feature, they show a very close resemblance to their neat, symmetrical prototype, the *gros tournois* of Saint Louis IX (1226–70), and Philippe Le Bel (1285–1314), just as the style and fabric of our noble recalls the fine gold pieces of those French kings. There were reasons why, apart from their intrinsic excellence, the French coins should have been copied here. Our noble families were conscious of a close affinity with their kinsmen in France; to many French was their tongue, France was their ancestral home, so that it was natural that they should look to France as the fountain of culture for all their handiwork, whether it was church architecture or coins.

To conclude, I will return to my opening paragraph. The chief currency difficulty in the Middle Ages was that of maintaining the supply. The clearest illustration of this is the reduction of the weight of the sterling in 200 years (c. 1350–1550) by nearly 300 per cent. At the end of the Wars of the Roses the difficulty no doubt seemed permanent and without remedy. It was our overseas trade which was to change the situation. The wool trade, to which I have so often referred, although it was the most important industry, was far from

¹ Blanchet, *Manuel de Numismatique Française*, vol. ii, p. 259; this coin too was widely imitated in Flanders.

² Capgrave, *De Illust. Henricis*, 135; see Gairdner's Introduction to the Paston Letters, p. cxxv.

³ Is it true that the sacred legend was placed on coins to appease the Church which, taking for its text the sin of Ananias, had always regarded money as an evil? Was it not rather the revival of an old practice? One recalls legends like *Pietas* on Roman coins, and the *Christiana Religio*, *Dei Gratia*, and *Munus Divinum* legends so common on the Continent in the Carolingian era. It seems possible that in Louis IX's time, 1226–70, money was still associated in men's minds with religious mottoes, that the old tradition had never completely been forgotten, and that the elaboration of the legends in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the Catholic Church was at the height of its power, was an astute piece of propaganda. It is interesting to recall that even after the Reformation the old tradition lived on and the sacred legends remained for many years. The perhaps only half-converted early Stuarts retained them and even extended them, though rather for their own greater glory, and their ultimate virtual disappearance when the milled money was introduced can probably be traced to the aversion of the Restoration Monarchy to their use on the hated Puritan pieces (“God with Us”), an aversion which, it has been said, was literally echoed in the placing of Charles II's head to “turn away” from that of Cromwell.

monopolizing the commercial activity of the country. There was a flourishing Icelandic trade, besides considerable business with the Baltic States, but more especially there was a large trade, centred on Bristol, with southern France and Spain. It was the Bristol trade which Henry VII did so much to stimulate, and it is one of that king's chief claims to statesmanship¹ that in doing so he diverted men's minds from European conquest and showed them that more fruitful fields of adventure lay upon the high seas. What he began the sailors of Elizabeth completed, and with their exploitation of American bullion a new phase of economic life was born.

¹ Lipson, *Economic History of England*, i, p. 587.

MISCELLANEA

A Find of Coins of Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar at Chester

By the courtesy of Prof. Robert Newstead, the Hon. Curator of the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, we are able to publish this account of a find of forty-three silver pennies of Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar, at a barber's premises at 97 Eastgate Row, Chester, on 5 June 1857. They were presented to the Grosvenor Museum by the Rev. F. A. Potts, 3 April 1941.

The find is composed as follows:

Eadred, type 1. Chester moneyers	3
Eadwig, type 1. York	1
Eadgar, B.M.C. Id, Brooke 1. Chester moneyers	31
Other moneyers	7
„ B.M.C. IV, Brooke 4. Chester moneyer	1
	43

The Eadwig penny of York is the only one with a mint-name, but of the remaining forty-two coins thirty-five can be assigned with some certainty to the Chester mint. The coins are all, except No. 39 of Eadgar, similar in type, with small cross pattée on the obverse, and moneyer's name in two lines on the reverse, divided by a cross and two annulets. As a "complement" to this find consult the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, vol. xx (1920), pp. 141 ff., which gives an account of a hoard of 122 coins of Eadgar, Eadweard II, and Aethelred II found in Chester in August 1914, described by G. F. Hill. In this find, in contrast to the one under review, the majority of the coins were of the type with bust on obverse and small cross pattée on reverse. It is not intended to discuss the matter here, but it seems that there may be something to be learnt from the segregation in these two finds of portrait and non-portrait types, which may add fresh suggestions for the vexed controversy over the sequence or concurrence of portrait and non-portrait types. See *Num. Chron.*, loc. cit.; Brooke's *English Coins*, p. 66, &c.

Notes on individual coins:

- Eadred, No. 3. This moneyer is no doubt identical with Sigeferth (Athelstan).
- Eadwig, No. 1. Moneyer not in Brooke.
- Eadgar, No. 2. This is probably the Chester Aelfsige.
- No. 18. Deorulf probably = Deorlaf.
- Nos. 24 and 25. Identical with Frothric; No. 30 provides the link.
- No. 31. This is the Chester moneyer who struck the famous Howel Dda penny.

Nos. 33, 36, and 38. Moneyers not assignable to any mint.
No. 37. Unpublished moneyer, but perhaps blundered.

T. M. TURNER

Note: In the following list all coins except the one of Eadwig and No. 39 of Eadgar have the moneyer's name in two lines, divided by a middle line O+O which does not vary.

LIST OF THE COINS

EADRED, 946-55

B.M.C. I, Brooke I.

1. EADRED REX ÐVMO/DNON Thurmod (Chester moneyer under Eadgar).
2. (*As I.*) ÐVM/ODM̄O "
3. (*As I.*) ZIEE/RDM̄O Siefereth (worked at Chester under Athelstan).

EADWIG, 955-9

B.M.C. I, Br. I.

1. EADVIG REX

❖
EDELZ
OM+EO
TAN M
❖

clay
York: Athelstan (not in Brooke).

EADGAR, 959-75

B.M.C. Id, Brooke I. (All with two annulets and one cross dividing moneyer's name.)

1. EADGAR RE • I ÆLFR/EDH Ælfred (? Thetford).
2. EADGAR[-] ÆLFZ/IGMO Ælfsige (Chester moneyer, and other towns).
3. (*Same dies as 2.*)
4. EADGARRE ALDEF/INEM̄ Aldewine (Chester moneyer).
5. EADGARRE ALDE/FINE "
6. EADGARRE+ ALDE/VVI "
7. EADGARRE ALHM/VND Alhmund.
8. (*Similar.*) ALH/MVND "
9. EADGARE EOR/OÐM Eoroth (broken and repaired, Chester).
10. (*Same dies as 9.*) " "
11. (*Obv. similar to 9.*) EOR/OÐHO Eoroth.
12. (*Obv. similar. Rev. same die as 11.*) "
13. (*Obv. similar.*) EORO/ÐMO "
14. (*Same dies as 13.*)
15. EADGARRE+ EALFS/IGEH Aelfsige (Chester and other mints).
16. EADGARRE EADM/VNDM Eadmund (Chester).
17. EAD[G]ARE+ EAD/HVND "
18. EADGARRE DEOR/VLF Deorulf (no doubt identical with Deorlaf, Chester moneyer).
19. EADGARE+ DEOR/VLFH " " "
20. EADGARRE ÐVRM/ODM̄O Thurmod (Chester moneyer).
21. (*Obv. as 20.*) ÐVR/MODM "
22. (*Similar.*) ÐVR/MOD "
23. (*Similar to 22.*) " "

24. (<i>Obv. similar.</i>)	FREÐ/RICM	Frothric (?) (Chester moneyer).
25. (<i>Similar.</i>)	FRE/ÐRIC	"
26. (<i>Similar.</i>)	FROÐ/RICMŌ	Frothric (Chester moneyer).
27. (<i>Similar.</i>)	CROÐ/RICM	"
28. (<i>Similar.</i>)	FROÐ/RICM	"
29. EADĠARE+	FROÐ/RICM	"
30. EADĠARRE+	FREO/RICH	"
31. (<i>Obv. similar.</i>)	GILV/Z MŌ	Gillys (Chester moneyer).
32. (<i>Same dies as 31.</i>)		
33. (<i>Obv. similar.</i>)	HRO/ÐVLF	Hrothulf.
34. EADĠARRE	MER/TINM	Martin (Chester moneyer under Athelstan).
35. (<i>Obv. similar.</i>)	MER/TIN	" "
36. (<i>Similar.</i>)	FERZ/TAN	Werstan.
37. EADĠARE+E+ [<i>sic</i>]	TEOÐ/VCMO	Teothuc?
38. EADĠARR	VVER/ZTAN	Werstan.
<i>B.M.C. IV, Brooke 4</i> (Rosette each side).		
39. EADĠARREXTOD	ÐVRMODMONET	Thurmod (Chester moneyer).

A Hoard of Aethelred II Coins, 1940

By A. H. BALDWIN

The object of this short note is to record the particulars of a small hoard of pennies of the time of Aethelred II, the king whose reign of thirty-eight years lasted, except for one short break, from A.D. 978 to A.D. 1016. Unfortunately very little is known of the place or time of the actual finding, for they were discovered among certain property left by an inhabitant of Shaftesbury. This man had put a note with them stating that they had been found on a building site near the town, and it also mentioned that a skeleton had been found on the same site some months before the coins were unearthed. No date was given and inquiry has failed to throw any more light on the matter.

The coins, 65 in number, are all of B.M.C. Type 4a, Hildebrand Type D, i.e. *obv.* Bust to left dividing the legend; *Rev.* Long voided cross with a pellet in the centre. That they are all of one type is in itself interesting as it is an uncommon event for this period. It would appear, however, that Type 4a has been represented in several previous hoards, mostly of Scandinavian origin.

There are 18 mints represented out of a possible 30 known for the type, and below is a list of them with the moneyers that are included:

<i>Mint.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Moneyers.</i>
1. Bath	2	ÆLFRIC
2. Canterbury	2	ÆLFRYD, EADPOLD
3. Chester	2	ELFSTAN, OÐVLF
4. Exeter	1	PVLFSIGE
5. Gloucester	4	LEOFSIGE, PIHTSIGE

6. Lincoln	8	EÐELNOÐ, COLGRIM, DRENG, GRIMM, VNBEIN, PVLFRIC
7. London	11	ÆÐELPERD, BRIHTLAF, BRVNSTAN, GODPINE, LEOFRED, LEOFRYD, LEOFRIC, LEOPINE, LYFING, SÆPINE, PVLFPINE
8. Lydford	1	GODA
9. Norwich	1	SPERTINC
10. Shaftesbury	1	GODA
11. Shrewsbury	1	PYNSIGE
12. Stamford	1	SPERTGAR
13. Wareham	1	PVLFRIC
14. Warwick	1	AEÐESTAN
15. Winchcombe	1	AELFGAR
16. Winchester	2	AELFSIGE, BRYHTPOLD
17. Worcester	4	AEÐELMAER, DVRANT, PVLFRIC
	(one forgery)	
18. York	21	EADRIC, FROSTVLF, HVNDVLF, LEOFSTAN, STEORCER, SVMERLID, SVNVLf, SPERT, ÐVRSTAN, PENGOS

Total $\overline{65}$

Mr. Derek Allen has seen the hoard, and he has recorded the full reading for each coin. All the moneyers, as he points out, are known for the type and with few exceptions they are represented in the National Collection. They are all described in Hildebrand with the exception of the Winchcombe coin which, incidentally, is by far the rarest in the find. Mr. Allen also mentions that a few of the dies are not of regular workmanship and were probably locally made. Under this heading are the coins of Bath, Chester, and three of the Lincoln pieces. The late Dr. G. C. Brooke considered the Chester coin of OÐVLF to be of Danish origin.

It is obviously out of the question to explain how the hoard came to be buried. It has been suggested that whoever buried it must recently have received a payment from York. There are so many die duplicates among the York minted coins that they cannot have passed through many hands before reaching the man who put them in the ground. But this does not explain how coins of the same type of widely separated mints came to be accumulated in Shaftesbury, and no argument that I have heard would seem to answer the problem conclusively.

Notes on Two Baronial Coins

I. Matilda defaced to read Stephen

Obv. Similar to the type illustrated in B.M.C., Pl. LXI, No. 2.

+SATPNEREO recut on an original inscription of +MATILDICO

Rev. Similar to the type illustrated in B.M.C., Pl. LXI, No. 2.

+EVERARD : ON : WAR

In this coin we find an ironical retort to the extensive series of Stephen's coins defaced by partisans of the Empress. Actually it was probably expediency rather than irony that prompted this recutting of Matilda's dies.



Obv. I

Obv. II

As to details, the obverse legend speaks for itself. The reverse legend I take as the basis for attributing this coin to Wareham, following Brooke (B.M.C. i, p. cxx) with some misgivings, in spite of the facts that there is no Everard otherwise known to have been associated with this mint, and that we do know an Everard of the period at Warwick, and that furthermore the Warwick Everard used the same form of W (W).

A basis for dating this coin is furnished by the history of Wareham during the anarchy (if one accepts the mint attribution). Wareham was a stronghold of Robert of Gloucester until he surrendered it to Stephen in 1138. Recaptured by Baldwin de Redvers next year, it remained in Angevin hands until June 1142, when William of Gloucester gave it up to Stephen. It was retaken by Robert of Gloucester in the same year, and a subsequent attempt of Stephen to recapture it failed. My inference from the above facts is that the original dies were made some time previous to June of 1142. It seems more than likely that Stephen would take advantage of the opportunity afforded by his recapture of the town to recut Matilda's dies as a temporary expedient while awaiting the preparation or arrival of dies for striking his regular coinage, a project never realized because of the loss of Wareham in November.

II. *Temp. Stephen*

Obv. Similar to type illustrated in B.M.C., Pl. LXI, No. 3.

ΓΙϞΕΡΤ+

Rev. Similar to type illustrated in B.M.C., Pl. LXI, No. 3.

VVITLSE

This coin presents a fascinating but rather discouraging problem. In stylistic character, both obverse and reverse, it is remarkably close to the Bristol coinage of Matilda, and especially to that specimen from the Roth collection described and illustrated in the B.M.C.

(I, p. cxviii, No. 3, and Pl. LXI, No. 3). The lettering of the legends, both obverse and reverse, is extremely crude and obviously hand-engraved, and in the style of the engraving I find another striking similarity to the Matilda coin just mentioned. All in all I am convinced that the coin under consideration should be assigned to Bristol.



Rev. I

Rev. II

Following this assumption we are confronted with two chief objections. The name of the moneyer is one with which we are not familiar, either at Bristol or elsewhere, but the form of the letters is so crude as to put the true reading in doubt. The name of the mint is largely off the edge of the flan, and this part of the coin is in any case so lightly struck as to offer no hint of the form even of the bottoms of the letters used. To all this I reply simply that the stylistic character of the coin suggests a Bristol origin so strongly in every detail that it must be taken as conclusive in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary.

But having got so far, we are still faced with the problem of how a coin with such an obverse legend, suggesting as it does a blundered version of **STEPHEN** if indeed it suggests anything, came to be struck in a city that was the principal Angevin stronghold throughout the anarchy. Oman has pointed out, in his *Coinage of England*, that we might expect to find specimens of the later regular types of Stephen showing the mint-name of Bristol, although none were known at the time he wrote. It is possible that the specimen in question may represent a makeshift set of dies used at a time when the official control of the central mint remained tenuous and communications were still difficult. Such a period existed between 1148 and 1154, after the Angevin cause in England had been substantially abandoned, and previous to the signing of the Treaty of Wallingford.

On the other hand, it may be argued that, somewhat as in the case of the **PERERIC** series, this coin was struck by a moneyer who, even though he felt it best to adhere to the Stephen party, still thought it wise to hedge against a possible sudden revival of Angevin power. This view is supported by the fact that the obverse legend, while strongly suggestive of the name and title **STIE RE**, is still, and quite possibly intentionally, so obscure as to be capable of interpretations more acceptable to the opposing faction. The final letter

of this legend looks most like a T, and a strong stretch of the imagination gives the third letter the appearance of E. While this cannot possibly be accepted as the basis for an alternative attribution to Robert of Gloucester, it might yet serve in a pinch as an alibi for a frightened moneyer. Did this moneyer perhaps use an entirely fictitious name, made up of letters most easily cut, with a view to disclaiming all responsibility should the need arise?

Whatever the true solution may be, I feel confident in assigning this coin to Bristol, and in dating it within the period intervening between the departure of the Empress from England and the signing of the Treaty of Wallingford.

L. CABOT BRIGGS

A Note on the Fox Classification of Edward I's Pence

In discussing the Boyton Find of Edwardian pence in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1936, p. 117, Mr. D. F. Allen called attention to the slight confusion presented by the Fox classification of Class III. He suggested that the Fox division of this group is not categorical, and that owing to the merging of certain sub-groups of this class one with another the "exact apportionment into classes is ultimately a matter of taste and eye". In this connexion it seems worth while pointing out that a slight discrepancy exists between the original classification by Messrs. Fox in vol. vii of the *British Numismatic Journal*, and Mr. Shirley-Fox's summary of the classes in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1917. On p. 120 of vol. vii of the *British Numismatic Journal* (reprint, p. 32) it is stated that the type called Class III*d* occurs only at mints situated in the north of England "at which it seems to occupy that place in the series which is filled in the South by III*e*". In the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1917, p. 282 (reprint, p. 4), Mr. Shirley-Fox, presumably owing to a slip, says precisely the opposite, and that coins of Class III*d* were struck at London, Bristol, Lincoln, and Bury St. Edmunds, and that Class III*e* is represented by a "sub-type peculiar to the mints in the North of England, and contemporaneous with III*d*", the northern mints concerned being Durham, Newcastle, and York, both royal and ecclesiastical. In the circumstances it seems better not to attempt too minute a subdivision, and to regard Classes III*d* and III*e*, since, moreover, they were contemporaneous, as forming one and the same group. We may suppose that Brooke was aware of the difficulties here outlined, and that his modification of Class III into *a*, *b*, and *c* (*English Coins*, p. 122) is the most practical division yet available.

C. A. WHITTON

A Long-Cross Pattern?

There lies in the British Museum a collection of rusty medieval dies which were found in 1914 in the Chapel of the Pyx at Westminster. Most of those which can be identified are, like those in the Public

Record Office, for coins of Edward III of the York and Durham mints. There is, however, one die which is sufficiently out of the ordinary to deserve a special note.

Unfortunately the die is in the worst possible condition and only an attentive study by eyes accustomed to interpreting and reading such objects reveals what was once there. It is a trussel or upper die; that is to say that it was intended to be hit by the hammer, not to be fixed by a spike into the anvil. It is therefore odd to find that it bears a head, for by immemorial practice the head has been the lower die. The type of the coin is a king's head and shoulders not unlike the earlier version of the king's head on Long-Cross coins of Henry III, except that it lacks the inner circle. Though the diameter of the coin is the same as that on the regular coins, the head is larger, the crown and the chin both reaching almost to the surrounding beaded circle. Owing to the additional space the king's beard is shown as longer. A legend on either side, divided by the shoulders, reads as follows:

HENRIC VSREX



In the accompanying drawing most of the right-hand side of the face has been reconstructed from the left. Some details of the shoulders may be fanciful. It is not certain whether there are intermediate ornaments between the flowers on the crown, or letters over it. It is, however, substantially accurate. The arrangement of hair and beard, the crown in its main details, the fringe in front, the details of lips, nose, and eye are certain. In addition the placing and reading of the legend on either side are certain.

No coin precisely resembling this has been found. It is therefore probably a die for a pattern coin, the type of which was never adopted. This is also suggested by the fact that, though an obverse die, it was engraved on a trussel, not on a standard. For a pattern it would be enough to submit a uniface impression such as could be struck with this die. It shows no signs of having been used.

The occasion on which the pattern was prepared may be guessed at. In 1247 the first discussions and deliberations commenced which ended in the Long-Cross issue of 1248. It is most likely that this die was prepared as a possible type for the Long-Cross coinage. We do not know why it was not adopted. Artistically it is a definite improvement on the one accepted, so much so as to suggest that it might be a later pattern in the same reign, an intended improvement on the current type. A third alternative is that it might have been a pattern for the gold penny. The first suggestion is, however, the most probable.

A careful search amongst the dies in the British Museum has failed to discover, so far, a corresponding reverse.

D. F. ALLEN.

The "Twopence" of Henry III in the Drabble Sale

A coin which has always had a certain notoriety among numismatists has recently passed under the hammer for the third time. It is an example of a long-cross penny struck on a large-size flan. The readings are:

Obv. HENRICVS REX III Bust with sceptre.

Rev. WILLIEM OICANT Long-cross type.

The type is that of Lawrence class Vg, which he dates between 1260 and 1272. It first appeared in the Ready Sale, 1920; it was sold again in the Wheeler Sale, 1930, and has finally been sold in the Drabble Sale, 1939. It has been described as a double penny, and indeed its weight, which is 43.8 grains, is double that of the ordinary penny. Measurement with a callipers will, however, show that the piece was struck from the ordinary penny dies of that time, not from special dies. It may therefore be doubted whether it was ever struck for circulation. There is no documentary authority for such a coin, and nothing but its weight would have distinguished it from an ordinary penny. The piece has been gilt and mounted, and it is far more likely that it was struck as a special piece for this purpose than that it was a true double penny. The gilding is on the reverse, the side with the cross. This is a regular practice a little later, when the groats of Edward I were often so treated. That pennies were also treated in this way can be told from a document published in abstract by Thorold Rogers in his *History of Prices* (vol. ii, pp. 13-14). In the inventory of John Sevekworth's effects (he was bailiff at Merton College, Oxford), 1314, occurs the following item: two "firmacula", valued at two shillings, one of them being mounted by a gilded penny as a symbol. Firmacula is translated by Rogers as seals, but this is an error; it is the regular medieval word for brooches. Here then we have almost contemporary evidence for just such a piece as the "twopence" of Henry III. It seems to me not at all unlikely that the mint would strike special pennies for this purpose, showing the details of the reverse to better advantage than on the ordinary penny. The flan is just wide enough to show the complete outer circle.

In Ruding's Supplement, Part II, plate II, no. 23, there is illustrated on dubious authority a similar coin reading ROBERT OICANT, not now known. Should this coin turn up, it would be of great interest to know whether it too was gilded. If so, the Canterbury mint may have made a speciality of these *pièces de plaisir* for the purpose of turning them into brooches.

D. F. ALLEN

OBITUARIES

DR. PHILIP G. LAVER, M.R.C.S.

THE death in 1941 of Philip G. Laver, M.R.C.S., has deprived Colchester of a most distinguished friend and archaeologist. Though he was not primarily a numismatist, he was a member of the Society from its foundation; unfortunately he was not often able to attend meetings, and so was not well known to many members.

As Deputy Chairman of the Colchester and Essex Museum, and a past President of the Essex Archaeological Society, his unfailing and devoted interest in all matters of local history and antiquities will be greatly missed. Through his generosity the Museum was enriched with many valuable gifts during his lifetime, and by the kindness of his sister, Mrs. Lyon Campbell, much of his private collection is now in the Museum.

His collection of coins was not, judged by numismatic standards, large, but included some fine Ancient British, some from the Clacton find; and a number of rare pennies of the Colchester and Maldon mints. He always extended to students a sincere welcome, and to many it is sad to be no longer able to seek the help always so freely given by "the Doctor".

T. M. T.

DR. F. B. PENFOLD, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

It is with regret that we record the death on 31 January 1941 of Dr. F. B. Penfold, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., a member of this Society since 1934.

Of a somewhat reticent and retiring disposition, he may have been but little known to most members of the Society, but his interest in coins was lifelong, and his study of minor varieties, mostly purchased at sales, intense.

The name of Penfold is an old one in Sussex and Surrey. Two of that name issued seventeenth-century tokens at Arundel and Storrington and two at Dorking, and many Penfolds still survive in these counties.

It was in Sussex that Dr. Penfold was chiefly interested, and he left a collection of some thirty Anglo-Saxon pennies and 112 seventeenth-century tokens of that county to the Sussex Archaeological Society. These are now in the Barbican Museum at Lewes, but will not be available for reference until after the war. The token collection is probably the third or fourth best known. Both these have been described by the writer and lists will be published in the next volume of *Sussex Archaeological Collections*.

In addition he left to the S.A.S. a very fine and valuable library of some thousand books, many magnificently bound, as well as plates and maps, all relating to Sussex.

J. B. C.

MR. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON

MR. VERNON BRYAN CROWTHER-BEYNON, who died on 8 April 1941 in his seventy-sixth year, was one of the best-known members of the Society. He was a well-known antiquary and a member of numerous antiquarian and archaeological societies, in most of which he had held office. Born at Beckenham, Kent, of which his father was Rector, he was educated at Wellington and Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was M.A., and called to the Bar. Crowther-Beynon lived for many years in Rutland, on the antiquities of which he was an authority and wrote several papers. He also acted as local secretary to the Society of Antiquaries for Rutland. Later he moved to Beckenham, the proximity of which to London enabled him to take a more active part in the antiquarian world. He had many interests and collections, but the by-paths of numismatics interested him most. Crowther-Beynon was an authority on the neglected field of coin-weights, to which he devoted special attention. He served for many years on the Council of the British and Royal Numismatic Societies: of the former he was President from 1933 to 1937, and of the latter Vice-President. He had also served on the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, of which he had been a Fellow since 1905. Some years ago he went to live near Bath, to the great loss of many societies in London. His knowledge was wide and varied, but he wrote comparatively little. To the *British Numismatic Journal* he contributed, between 1926 and 1930, three short papers on "A Collection of Money-scales and other Coin-weighing Appliances", "An Eighteenth Century Coin-clipper", and "Peny-yard Pence". He was a frequent and interesting exhibitor at the meetings of the Society. In the Great War he took an active part in relief work, and his services as honorary Secretary to the Belgian Refugee Relief Fund gained him the M.B.E.

J. A.

REVIEW

Handbook of British Chronology. Edited by F. M. POWICKE, Litt.D., F.B.A., with the assistance of CHARLES JOHNSON, M.A., F.B.A., and W. J. HARTE, M.A. Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, No. 2. Pp. 424. Price 7s. 6d.

The names of the editors of this remarkable compendium are a sufficient guarantee of its value to all students of the history of British numismatics. All the facts of British constitutional history seem to be here, tabulated and readily accessible. They include lists, with brief genealogies and dates, of all the rulers from Hengist to the present day of Great Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent islands of Man and the Channel; the incumbents of all the episcopates—so valuable to students of Ecclesiastical Mints—of all the four countries from the earliest times; all the chief Officers of State from the time of Edward the Confessor; the names and brief history of the principal magnates of this country from 1066 to 1603; a list of English Parliaments during the later Middle Ages, and of the English Church Councils down to Henry VIII's time, and, lastly, chapters on the reckoning of time with a list—that great desideratum—of the regnal and exchequer years from 1066 onwards, and of certain festivals and Saints' days used in dating. Whenever necessary the facts are documented, and the sources quoted form a valuable bibliography.

C. A. W.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

(See Vol. XXIII, p. 367, for the list of past Presidents. MR. H. W. TAFFS remained President in 1940 and 1941.)

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL

(See Vol. XXIII, page 368, for the complete list of recipients.
MR. C. A. WHITTON, B.A., was the recipient in 1941.)

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1941

President: H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. BAGNALL; A. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.; H. H. KING, M.A.; R. C. LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.; F. B. PENFOLD, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

Director: CAPTAIN C. E. BLUNT, F.S.A.

Treasurer: A. G. WRIGHTSON, M.A.

Librarian: H. J. DAKERS, M.A.

Secretary: D. F. ALLEN, B.A.

Assistant Secretary: C. A. WHITTON, B.A.

Council: F. O. ARNOLD, M.A., M.D.; A. H. F. BALDWIN; J. B. CALDECOTT, F.S.A.; E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P.; J. DAVIDSON, M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.P.E., F.S.A. (Scot.); LT.-COL. C. L. EVANS; MISS H. L. FARQUHAR, F.R.HIST.S.; COL. M. H. GRANT; LORD GRANTLEY, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.; H. P. HALL; L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.; H. A. PARSONS; K. R. R. READHEAD; A. C. STRAND; E. J. WINSTANLEY, L.D.S.

ORDINARY MEETING

22 JANUARY 1941

No formal meeting was held, but Mr. Taffs and various other members met in the Society's Rooms and a number of coins were exhibited.

ORDINARY MEETING

22 FEBRUARY 1941

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

The death of Dr. Penfold was announced, and a formal vote of sympathy to the relatives was passed. The Secretary was instructed to send a suitable communication to the Executors.

Exhibition

MR. TAFFS exhibited various "box medals", containing series of prints, made during the period of the Napoleonic wars. He also exhibited various other medals of the nineteenth century.

Paper

MR. ALLEN outlined the development of Gaulish coinage in the last two centuries before Christ. He showed how it developed from origins in Greece and the Greek colonies as well as from Roman sources. He emphasized the falsity of studying these coins with preconceived notions of the tribal districts of Gaul, and he made a plea for the preparation of distribution maps.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 MARCH 1941

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

It was announced that the late Dr. Penfold, whose death had been recorded at the previous meeting, had left the Society the sum of £50.

Exhibitions

DR. BRUSHFIELD exhibited a series of rare bronze Colonial coins, including some fine specimens struck for Singapore.

MR. TAFFS exhibited various medieval and modern coins from his collection. He also exhibited a 2/3 Ryal of Mary Queen of Scots and Henry Darnley, resembling the ordinary coins of this type, but without date. Mr. Taffs read a certificate from the assayer of Woolwich Arsenal to the effect that he could find no trace that letters or figures had been erased from the surface of the coin. There was considerable discussion as to whether the certificate was

or was not correct, and members agreed to differ. This coin was the property of the Red Cross, and was shortly to be sold in one of their auctions.

MR. ALLEN exhibited a brockage of the reverse of a half-penny of Edward III.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 APRIL 1941

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Exhibitions

CAPTAIN BLUNT exhibited a series of silver coins of the Durham mint in illustration of his paper.

MR. WINSTANLEY exhibited some pennies of Henry VII from the Durham mint.

MR. TAFFS exhibited a series of coins, mostly of the fifteenth century, including some nobles and rose nobles.

Paper

CAPTAIN BLUNT read a paper on the History of the Durham Mint in the Fifteenth Century. He gave some account of the history and achievements of the bishops who were responsible for the various series of coins. He described the various types issued and suggested some new datings.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 MAY 1941

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

The Secretary had the unpleasant task of announcing that the Society's minute books had nearly all been destroyed by fire at the British Museum on the night of the recent heavy "blitz" of London. The greater part of the accumulated plaster casts belonging to the Society had also perished there.

Exhibitions

MR. TAFFS again exhibited the 2/3 Ryal, previously shown in March, and discussions on its authenticity were resumed. Mr. Taffs exhibited various medieval coins from his collection.

MR. WHITTON exhibited a series of typical specimens of coins of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Paper

MR. WHITTON's paper on "Some Economic Aspects of the Coinage of the Middle Ages", was read in his absence by the Secretary. Mr. Whitton

discussed the relationship between the coinage of this country and the wool trade, and the part played by the Staple at Calais in the development of English coinage. He quoted various contemporary documents to show the status of coinage in commercial and domestic life of fifteenth-century England.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 JUNE 1941

No formal meeting was held, but a few members, including the President, met and various coins were exhibited.

ORDINARY MEETING

22 OCTOBER 1941

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

The names of the following candidates for election were read:

Mr. W. V. R. Baldwin,
Mr. W. Cole Barker,
Mr. F. C. Stuart,
Mr. T. L. Wosley.

The Council's recommendations for the posts of Officers and Council for 1942 were read. They were as follows: *President*, Mr. Taffs; *Vice-Presidents*, Mr. Bagnall, Dr. Carter, Dr. Brushfield, Moss Farquhar, Mr. King, Mr. Lockett; *Director*, Mr. Whitton; *Treasurer*, Mr. Wrightson; *Librarian*, Mr. Dakers; *Secretary*, Mr. Turner; *Council*, Mr. Allen, Dr. Arnold, Mr. Baldwin (senior), Captain Blunt, Mr. Briggs, Mr. Caldecott, Dr. Davidson, Colonel Evans, Colonel Grant, Lord Grantley, Mr. Hall, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Strand, Mr. Winstanley.

The late Mr. Crowther-Beynon's bequest of £50 to the Society was recorded, and the Secretary was instructed to write a suitable acknowledgement to the executors.

Exhibitions

MR. TAFFS exhibited a series of coins of various types, including some colonial coins and tokens.

MR. WINSTANLEY exhibited a series of small English silver coins, including an arched crown penny of Canterbury of Henry VII, a late half-groat of Henry VI, and two Henry VII half-pennies of London, mint-mark lys.

MR. TURNER exhibited a series of rare pennies of the Colchester Mint in illustration of his paper.

Paper

MR. TURNER read a paper on some unpublished pennies of the Colchester Mint. He traced the history of the mint from its inception

in Anglo-Saxon times down to its disappearance under the early Plantagenets. Mr. Turner was able to add considerably to the available information.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

29 NOVEMBER 1941

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

The candidates for election to membership proposed at the previous meeting were elected.

The name of Dr. Burstal was read as a candidate for election to membership.

The Council's Recommendations for Officers and Council in 1942 were duly elected.

The Treasurer's and Council's reports were read and approved.

The ballot for the John Sanford Saltus medal was held and Mr. Whitton was elected medallist for 1941.

It was recorded that the more important sections of the library had been stored in St. Albans for safety.

Exhibitions

MR. TAFFS exhibited a selection of pieces from his collection, including a tobacco box with an embossed portrait of Frederick the Great, and a silver purse of about 1700.

DR. CARTER exhibited a Shrewsbury crown purchased at a recent sale.

MR. ALLEN exhibited, by the kindness of Mr. Baldwin, a silver medal of the early seventeenth century having on one side a picture from the story of Tobias and the Angel and a quotation in German from the book of Tobit, chapter v, and on the other side some rhyming couplets in English. This medal was unpublished, the only other known specimen being in the British Museum. It was suggested that it belonged to the period of the Thirty Years War, and was cast for some English colony in Germany.

The Council's Report

(29 November 1941)

The Council has the honour to present its thirty-seventh Annual Report.

The membership of the Society has again shown a slight decrease, inevitable in the present circumstances. The Council welcomes the following new members:

W. V. R. Baldwin, Esq.

W. Cole Barker, Esq.

F. C. Stuart, Esq.

T. L. Wosley, Esq.

It is with great regret that the Council records the deaths of the following members:

V. B. Crowther-Beynon, Esq.

W. J. Faulkner, Esq.

Dr. P. G. Laver.

Dr. F. B. Penfold.

F. Warren, Esq.

Mr. Crowther-Beynon was President of the Society from 1933 to 1937, when he retired to the country. He was a collector of very wide interests which were not limited to numismatics. He specialized, however, in coin weights and in pipe-stoppers, on both of which subjects he delivered papers to the Society. He was generally regarded as one of the Society's most successful Presidents, and he won many friends while he held that office. His death will be greatly regretted by the Society. It is learned that he has remembered the Society in his will.

Dr. Penfold was for many years a member of the Council and a Vice-President. He also was a collector of wide interests not limited to coins. He was a regular attendant at meetings and played a large part in the conduct of the Society's affairs. His company and his help will be missed. He also has expressed his interest in the Society by means of a bequest.

Dr. Laver, a distinguished archaeologist, especially in matters relating to Essex, had long been interested in coins, though he was not widely known to members.

Mr. Faulkner had a notable collection of tokens.

The Council has aimed at continuing the Society's activities unabated. The usual meetings have been held and are recorded in the *Proceedings*. It is encouraging that amongst those who read papers there is again a new contributor, Mr. T. M. Turner. Attendance has not been good, but the Council is satisfied that in continuing to hold meetings as before it is fulfilling the wishes of the Society.

The Council regrets to record the destruction by fire at the British Museum of most of the Society's earlier minute books. The Society is fortunate that it has escaped a worse fate at enemy hands. With this lesson in mind, the library has been partly stored at St. Albans for safety, and the Council is grateful to the Librarian for executing this task.

The Council has to record the resignations of Director and Secretary, neither of whom can continue in office under present conditions. The Council wishes to express its appreciation of the services of the retiring officers. Captain Blunt was chiefly responsible for the renewed vigour of the *Journal* in recent years.

In their places the Council welcomes Mr. Whitton as Director and Mr. Turner as Secretary. Mr. Whitton has since the outbreak of war, without official recognition, shared with the retiring Secretary the work of editing the *Journal*. His position will now be regularized.

Mr. Turner is a young member whose fresh energy will certainly help to hold the Society together during the war.

The other officers remain as before, and the Council wishes to record its thanks to them. In particular Mr. Taffs deserves the gratitude of the Society for his unremitting labours as President.

The Society's gratitude is due to Miss Farquhar, Dr. Carter, and Mr. Bagnall for generous donations to their funds, and also to Colonel Grant for a contribution towards the cost of the *Journal*.

The balance sheet for 1940 is attached. Thanks are due to Mr. Lockett and Mr. King for acting as auditors.

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1940

INCOME

[illegible]

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1940

LIABILITIES

1939				£ s. d.			£ s. d.			£ s. d.		
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	1	0	Subscriptions received in advance				2	2	0			
40	1	0	Subscriptions compounded				35	17	0			
25	0	1	Sundry Creditors and outstanding Charges							12	5	4
			<i>J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund:</i>									
			Capital Account	161	16	2						
171	15	5	Income Account	15	15	11						
				<hr/>						177	12	1
			<i>General Purposes Fund:</i>									
			Balance as at 31 Oct., 1939				1,344	5	0			
1,344	5	0	Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for the year	302	7	0				1,041	18	0
				<hr/>								
<hr/>										<hr/>		
£1,582 2 6										£1,269 14 5		

ASSETS

1939	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
	764	14	11	Investments at cost or book value:						
				£321 14s. 6d. 4 per cent. Consolidated Stock	250	0	0			
				£935 18s. 0d. 2½ per cent. Consolidated Stock	514	14	11	764	14	11
				(Market value 31 Oct. 1940						
				£1,054 5s. 8d.)						
	161	16	2	J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund:						
				£166 14s. 11d. India 3½ per cent. Stock				161	16	2
				(Market value 31 Oct. 1940						
				£152 19s. 9d.)						
	151	12	5	Library at cost as at 18 Nov. 1930						
	10	7	6	Furniture at cost				151	12	5
				Cash at Bank and in hand:				10	7	6
				Post Office Savings Bank	150	18	5			
	493	11	6	Current Account	30	5	0			
								181	3	5
	£1,582	2	6					£1,269	14	5

We beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear at 31 October 1940. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

On behalf of the Society:

R. CYRIL LOCKETT } *Hon. Auditors*
HORACE H. KING }

2 September 1941.

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THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
1942 — 1943

Including the
PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
for the year 1942

EDITED BY
E. J. WINSTANLEY AND T. M. TURNER



VOLUME XXIV
THIRD SERIES, VOLUME IV, PART II
MCMXLIV

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

21 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C. 1

THE British Numismatic Society was founded in 1903. In Peace time, meetings are held at 6 p.m. on the fourth Wednesday of each month between October and June, with the exception of November and December. In November the anniversary meeting is held on St. Andrew's Day, the 30th of the month. In December no meeting is held. At the meetings papers are read on fresh numismatic discoveries and the results of recent research, and rare coins and medals are exhibited. In War time, meetings are still held on the same days, but the times vary according to the circumstances.

The Society's extensive numismatic library at 21 Bedford Square is available for the use of members, and books may be borrowed from it.

The Society's activities are confined to British numismatics, but this subject is interpreted in its widest sense and the field covered includes the coinage of Great Britain and its dependencies from the earliest times down to the present day, the coinage of the northern continent of America, token coinage, and medals and badges of all descriptions.

The annual subscription to the Society is one guinea, payable on election and on January 1st of each ensuing year. The annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15. There is no entrance fee. Junior members, that is persons of less than 21 years of age, are subject to a reduction in the subscription of 50 per cent.

Persons or corporate bodies desiring to become members should communicate with the Secretary, Mr. T. M. Turner, Downs Lodge, Sutton, Surrey.

Contributions, either in the form of articles or of shorter communications, are invited and should be sent to the Editors, 21 Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1.

The Society's Journal is issued annually, and members will be provided at suitable intervals with binding-cases.

THE STAMFORD AND PETERBOROUGH MINTS

By WILLIAM C. WELLS

(Continued from Vol. XXIII, p. 28.)



FIG. 15.

AFTER the foregoing list of Eadweard the Martyr's coins was printed, Messrs. Baldwin purchased on my behalf at the sale of the Drabble collection¹ a penny of Eadweard the Martyr which may be described as follows:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
56 a	+ EADPEARD REX ANGLORX From the same die as No. 56	+ PYLFEGAR MTO STAN. From the same die as No. 56, and Æthelred II, No. 8	W. C. Wells [Fig. 15.]

The coin was struck from the same dies as No. 56, but *before* the annulet was cut in the reverse die. Why was the annulet added to the die after it had already been in use? The late W. J. Andrew, *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I*, pp. 363-4, under "Peterborough", says:

"... It follows that all the money struck by the Abbot's moneyer must bear the name of Stamford as its mint, and the contemporary identification of his money would of course be apparent from the moneyer's name upon it. But it might happen that a King's moneyer who had been coining in a certain type was, owing to the death of his ecclesiastical colleague, transferred to the Abbot, and continued to issue the same type for him, or, again, upon the appointment of a new Abbot the moneyer of his predecessor might similarly continue the current type. In either of these cases, it will be patent to all, that unless the Abbot was prepared to accept responsibility for money issued before it was under his own control, some mark upon the new money was necessary for identification, and the same necessity would arise when a moneyer succeeded another of the same name. This was readily effected by the addition of a small ornament or device to the existing die.

"Such is a very simple explanation of an old but unsolved

¹ Messrs. Glendining's, 5 July 1939, lot 440.

problem. . . . The spiritual lords usually chose some ecclesiastical symbol such as a small cross or annulet—their ring of investiture.

‘Lay down thy cross and staff,
Thy myter and thy ring I to thee gaff.’

“ . . . The reader . . . will find numerous examples of the cross and annulet upon the coins of the Stamford mint ; which coins no doubt represent some of the money of the Abbots of Peterborough. The annulet, or ring of St. Peter, was the symbol of investiture, and as such was especially applicable in the cases of St. Peter’s at York and St. Peter’s at Burh.”

Prima facie, the discovery of the above-described coin, in conjunction with the specimen from the same dies previously described (Eadweard the Martyr, No. 56), would appear to confirm the foregoing theory and would appear to indicate that the moneyer Wulfgar, during the issue of this type, was coining on behalf of the king, but was transferred to the abbot, in succession to Jole, Wine, Man or Wacer ? and to denote such transference the annulet was cut in the reverse die to facilitate the identification of coins struck on the abbot’s behalf subsequent to the moneyer’s transference. Wulfgar also used the same reverse die to strike coins in Æthelred II’s first type (see No. 8, *post*).

According to the “Andrew” theory the foregoing would indicate that Wulfgar was appointed the abbot’s moneyer in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr and so continued into the first, second, and third types of Æthelred.¹ But there would be no reason to continue the annulet on coins of the first type of Æthelred as Wulfgar was already the abbot’s moneyer, and the change of monarch would further obviate the necessity for the use of the annulet. It may, however, be accounted for on the assumption that the previous reverse type was being continued, and that Wulfgar, already in possession of a reverse die, continued to use it in the new coinage, without consideration of the annulet and its significance. But the above assumption would create a difficulty, for, although the abbot was at that time entitled to only one moneyer, claims similar to those for Wulfgar could be made on behalf of three other moneyers, viz., Ælfwald, Wulfstan, and Leoving, as will be seen by the table on page 71.

Ælfwald was working at the Stamford mint from the latter part of Eadgar’s reign and continued there until the “Crux” type of Æthelred II. We have his coins of Eadgar, and of Eadweard the Martyr, without the annulet on the reverse, and of Eadweard the Martyr, with the annulet, and also of Æthelred’s first type, with the annulet. *Wulfstan* may have been coining at Stamford in the reign of Eadgar ; we have his coins minted there in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr, without annulet, and of Æthelred’s first type, with the

¹ Here and elsewhere, the author assumes that a moneyer once appointed to the abbot’s service would so continue, probably until his death, retirement, or removal to another mint.

annulet, and we have also his coins of Æthelred's "Hand" and "Crux" types. Of the moneyer *Leoving* or *Lefing*, we have coins of Eadweard the Martyr, without the annulet, and of Æthelred's first type we have a coin¹ with the annulet on the reverse. He coined also in the "Hand" type of Æthelred. The annulet on Ælfwald's coins in the British Museum and W.C.W. collections appears to have been partially erased, apparently from the die.

Moneyers	Eadgar		Eadweard the Martyr		Æthelred II					
					Type I		Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V
	Without bust	With bust	Without annulet	With annulet	Without annulet	With annulet	1st "Hand" type	2nd "Hand" type	"Benediction" type	"Crux" type
RICULF	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
JOLE OR JOEL	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WINE	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MANN, MAN	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CNAPA, CNAPE	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—
HILD	+	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
ÆSCMAN ²	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ÆLFWALD, ÆLFWOLD . .	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	+
OGEA ³	—	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—
WULFGAR, WULGAR . .	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—
BOIA, BOGA, BOGE ³ .	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	+	—	—
GRIM	—	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—
WACER	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WULFSTAN, WULSTAN .	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	+
LEFING, LEOVING, LIVING.	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	—

According to the "Andrew" theory, Ælfwald's coins suggest that he was working for the king under Eadgar and Eadweard the Martyr, and the annulet's appearance on his coins in the latter reign suggests that he was then transferred to the abbot's service and so continued until Æthelred's "Crux" type.⁴ But here again, as in Wulfgar's case, there was no reason for the retention of the annulet on coins of Æthelred's first type. *Leoving*, or *Lefing*, was operating at the Stamford mint in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr, and we have his coin without the annulet. In Æthelred's first type we have his coin with an annulet on the reverse, which, according to theory, would show that Leoving was working for the king in Eadweard the Martyr's reign and was transferred to the abbot immediately upon Æthelred's succession to the throne and continued in his service until the "Hand" type was in issue.

The coin of Æthelred's first issue, by the moneyer *Hild*, is interesting on account of the attempt to erase the annulet on the reverse.

¹ See Eadweard the Martyr No. 45, Pl. II, fig. 22, and Æthelred II No. 6, Pl. III, fig. 32.

² A moneyer Æscman coined at Stamford also in Æthelred II, type IX, and in Canute type I. See table on p. 100, *post*.

³ See note on p. 76, *post*.

⁴ See Table above.

We have coins by this moneyer of the reign of Eadgar and of Eadweard the Martyr, the latter without annulet, but none of the latter reign, by this moneyer, with the annulet. Yet the coin of Æthelred with the annulet clearly indicates that *Hild* had struck coins with the annulet in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr, and that for some reason, upon the accession of Æthelred, he endeavoured to erase the annulet from either his reverse die or from the coins struck from it. Possibly *Hild*'s coin of Eadweard the Martyr, with annulet, will turn up later.

There was no change of abbot at Peterborough during the period under discussion, consequently, according to the "Andrew" theory, to account for the annulet on the Stamford coins we are reduced to two alternatives: (1) the transference of a moneyer from the king to the abbot or (2) the somewhat remote possibility of a series of Stamford moneyers succeeded by others of the same name. The analysis of coins of the "annulet" period given above completely fails to support alternative (1); quite the contrary. If we accept Wulfgar as the abbot's moneyer in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr, and of Æthelred II, down to the "Hand" type, by reason of the two coins of Eadweard the Martyr, from the same dies, one with and the other without an annulet, which is quite in accordance with the "Andrew" theory, how can we reconcile that assumption with the fact that the coins of at least three other moneyers, viz. Ælfwald, Wulfstan, and Leoving, exhibit equally conclusive evidence that each of them, one in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr and the others in Æthelred's first type, had been appointed the abbot's moneyer and had continued coining for him in the later issues of Æthelred?¹ A fourth moneyer, *Hild*, as stated above, also appears to have been transferred to the abbot in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr and was coining also in Æthelred's first type.

That the annulet was placed on these Stamford coins for a definite reason is evidenced by the two coins of Eadweard the Martyr struck from the same dies, one with and the other without the annulet, as previously described, and also by the fact that in at least two instances the moneyer has endeavoured to erase the annulet either from the die or from the coin. However carefully the question is considered it appears impossible to reconcile the Stamford "annulet" coins of the reign of Eadweard the Martyr and of Æthelred II with the theory which Mr. Andrew put forward as "a very simple explanation of an old but unsolved problem". Possibly the problem will be solved by numismatists of the future.

ÆTHELRED II, A.D. 978-1016

Upon the death of Eadweard the Martyr, in 978, his half-brother Æthelred "the Unready" succeeded to the throne and was crowned by Dunstan at Kingston on 14 April 978, and within a month of Eadweard's murder. Æthelred was the son of Eadgar and Ælfthryth, and was born in 968 or 969.

¹ See note 1, p. 71, *ante*, and table on the same page.

Æthelred had not been long on the throne when the Danish invasions began—a series of invasions which led eventually to the submission of all England to a Danish king. From 980 to 982 several descents were made on different parts of the coast by the Danes and Northmen. In 988 the attacks were renewed and the invaders began to settle in the country. In 991 a more formidable invasion was made by a powerful Norwegian force, and then commenced the disastrous policy of trying to buy off the invaders. Archbishop Sigeric and the West Saxon ealdormen Æthelweard and Ælfric promised to pay them ten thousand pounds of silver. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 991 says:

“And in that year it was first decreed that tribute should be paid to the Danish men, on account of the great terror which they caused by the sea-coast: that was at first ten thousand pounds.”¹

In 994 came the formidable combined invasion of Anlaf Tryggveson of Norway and Sweyn of Denmark. At the head of ninety-four ships the two northern princes sailed up the Thames and laid siege to London. The assault was beaten off by the Londoners with great slaughter of the besiegers. Æthelred resolved to offer tribute on condition that the enemy should depart. The Northmen accepted the terms and spent the winter at Southampton while £16,000 was being collected to pay them off, which was done in the following year, 995. In 1001 the enemy were again raiding the western coast. Again Æthelred met the invaders by offering to bribe them to depart, by a third payment of tribute even heavier than those of 991 and 995. This time the Danes extorted no less than £24,000 before they departed, in 1002. In 1003 they returned again with Sweyn at their head. In 1005 they returned home, apparently without exacting a ransom.

Near the end of 1006 the Danes returned and renewed their work of destruction. Again it was decided to purchase peace. This time no less than £36,000 was paid to the invaders. This was paid in 1007 and the enemy left England.

In 1009 the Danes arrived once more, and for the space of two years they ravaged the country and slew the inhabitants, and in 1012 they received, as tribute, the large sum of £48,000.

The total tribute paid to the Danes between the years 991 and 1012 reached the enormous sum of £146,000, or 35,040,000 pennies, the greater part of which was doubtless paid in coined money. To produce even a moderate proportion of this huge sum in coined money the mints throughout England would necessarily work at high pressure; many dormant and semi-dormant mints would be pressed into service and new mints instituted. The collecting of this huge sum must have drained England of silver and silver coin, which probably accounts for the discovery of so few coins of Æthelred II in English hoards.

¹ The amount of the tribute appears to have been subsequently increased, for the text of this treaty has been preserved and is translated in Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. i, pp. 220–3. It names £22,000 instead of the £10,000 of the *Chronicle*.

On the other hand, many large hoards of coins, largely composed of those of Æthelred II, have been discovered in Scandinavia. These hoards undoubtedly represent some small proportion of the actual coins paid as tribute to the Danes and their allies, and they were probably hidden by men who had taken part in the raids on England and had received these coins as part of their share of the plunder.

Hildebrand, in the second edition (1881) of his *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm*, describes no less than 4,389 varieties of coins of Æthelred II, all of which were discovered, principally in hoards, in Sweden. In addition, there are thousands of coins of this reign in public and private collections in England, Scandinavia, and elsewhere, of which probably 90 per cent. have been derived from Scandinavian hoards. On the face of many coins of this reign are to be found small cuts or "nicks", varying in number from one or two to six or eight. The coins so defaced are, apparently, invariably derived from Scandinavian hoards. These cuts were obviously made with the point of a knife, and were probably made by the Scandinavian owners as a rough-and-ready method of testing the quality of the silver of which the coin was composed, the cut metal being turned back to expose the underlying metal. Hildebrand in his catalogue describes 147 varieties of coins struck at the Stamford mint during the reign of Æthelred II. These and other Stamford coins found in other parts of Scandinavia undoubtedly formed part of the levy imposed upon the inhabitants of the Stamford Baron and Peterborough districts for the payment of tribute to the Danes and Northmen.

In 1013 Sweyn came over with a fine fleet and received submission of all northern England. The Danes again marched into the west and Sweyn was formally chosen as king. No coins, however, appear to have been struck bearing his name. When Sweyn had conquered the greater part of England, in the latter part of 1013, Æthelred's queen, Ælfgifu-Emma, took refuge with her brother Richard, Duke of the Normans, at Rouen. She was accompanied in her flight by Ælfsige, Abbot of Peterborough. In January 1014 Æthelred crossed over to Rouen to join his queen. Sweyn died in the following month, and the Danish fleet immediately chose his son Canute as king, but the witan, clergy, and laity decided to send to Æthelred and request his return. Upon his return Æthelred placed himself at the head of a large force and drove Canute out. When Canute returned later in 1015 Æthelred lay sick at Corsham. His son Eadmund gathered an army to oppose Canute, but Æthelred was unable to join him. Æthelred died in London on 23 April 1016.

With the reign of Æthelred we reach a period when it is possible to demonstrate with some degree of certainty the chronological sequence of the various types of coins. Æthelred's earliest coins are a variety of type *Hawkins*, 205 (*British Museum Catalogue*, type i), and are identical in type with the coins of his predecessor. Indeed, so closely do they resemble the coins of Eadweard the Martyr that

without reading the obverse legend it is impossible to distinguish between the coins of those two issues. These early coins of Æthelred are rarely met with, and were issued from so few mints that undoubtedly they formed an emergency issue for a brief period until a general type had been officially decided upon. The writer once saw a coin of this early variety of *Hawkins*, 205, which had been struck from dies of Eadweard the Martyr, but the king's name on the obverse die had been altered from EADFARD to ÆÐELRED.¹

Fairly conclusive evidence that this was the first type issued in Æthelred's reign is afforded by the Stamford coins. Of the seven moneyers whose coins are described in the following list Ælfwald or Ælfwold, Hild, and Wulfgar or Wulgar, commenced operations at the Stamford mint in the reign of Eadgar, and Boia, Grim, Lefing or Leoving, and Wulfstan or Wulstan, were working there only from the previous reign, Eadweard the Martyr. Wulfstan continued operations until type VI (*Hks.* 207), was in issue, Ælfwald continued into type V (CRVX), Boia into type III (*Hks.* 206), Grim, Lefing or Leoving, into type II (1st "Hand" type), and Hild, who had worked there since the early type of Eadgar, apparently failed to carry his operations beyond type I of Æthelred.²

Coin No. 8 in the following list was struck from the same reverse die as that of Eadweard the Martyr, Nos. 56 and 56 *a*, *ante*, and the reverse of No. 5 in the list, HILD MTO STANFO, also has every appearance of having been struck from a die of Eadweard the Martyr. The writer possesses two coins of Eadweard the Martyr with similar reverse readings (Nos. 42 and 43 in list, *ante*), but neither is from the same die, nor does there appear to be a record of a coin of Eadweard the Martyr from this reverse die, in the field of which is an annulet, partially erased, but it is difficult to decide whether the attempted erasure was made in the die or on the coin. It is highly probable in consideration of the partially erased annulet that the reverse die was actually used in the reign of Eadweard the Martyr, and that a coin of that reign with this exact reverse will turn up eventually.

Some of the dies for Æthelred's first type are of excellent work, equal to the best of those of Eadweard the Martyr, while others are obviously of local work, particularly those of the Lincoln and York mints. The inscriptions on both obverse and reverse of some specimens are either very incorrect or practically unintelligible, and many of the letters are badly formed and retrograde.³ A feature of these coins of type I, which proclaims their early issue, is that a good percentage read REX ANGLORX and on the reverse the moneyer's name and that of the mint are invariably connected by the form MTO, each frequently more or less blundered. Only one specimen of the early

¹ In the sale of the Drabble collection (Glendining, 5 July 1939) were two coins of this early type of Æthelred II, lots 445 (Lincoln), and 448 (Torksey). In each case the cataloguer suggested that "the obverse is probably an altered die of Edward the Martyr". The present writer subjected these coins to a close scrutiny but failed to discover any indication of such alteration.

² See table of moneyers on p. 71, *ante*.

³ Cp. Figs. 16 and 17, and Pl. III, fig. 33.

variety is figured in the *British Museum Catalogue*, viz. Pl. XV, fig. 9, + GRIND MTO LINCL.



FIG. 16



FIG. 17



TYPE I ("Small cross" type)

Obverse. Draped and filleted bust of the king to left. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription, commencing above the king's head; the whole within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse. A small cross pattée within a plain inner circle. Around, inscription; the whole within a beaded circle.

Hawkins (included in) 205; *British Museum Catalogue* (included in) type i, Pl. XV, fig. 9; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, figs. 5-6, Pl. D, fig. 33; *Hildebrand* (included in) type A.

The recorded moneyers who worked at Stamford in Æthelred II's first type are seven in number, viz. Alfwald or Ælfwald, Boga, Grim, Hild, Leoving or Lefing, Wulfgar or Wulgar, and Wulfstan or Wulstan, all of whom continued coining from the previous reign.

The following varieties have come under the writer's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
1	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ALFPALD MTO STANF	Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen.
		Variety. Annulet in field.	
2	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ ÆLFALD MTO STAN	Hildebrand, 3429.
		Variety. Annulet in field.	
3	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ BOGA ¹ MTO STANF	Brit. Mus. (Chester hoard). [Pl. III, fig. 31.]
4	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ GRIM MTO TO STANOR	Hunter Coll., Glasgow. <i>Ruding</i> , Pl. 22, No. 5. [Fig. 16.]
5	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ HILD MTO STANF	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 17.]
		Variety. Annulet, partially erased, in field.	

¹ See also Eadweard the Martyr, Nos. 19-26, *ante*, and Æthelred II, Nos. 16-22, and 50, *post*. It is highly probable that coins reading OGE &c. (see note 1, p. 77) were struck by the same moneyer, the initial B, however, in each case having been omitted. A Canterbury coin of Eadgar (Carlyon-Britton sale, part I, 1913, lot 434) gives the form *Bogea*, and a coin of the same mint from the Chester hoard, now in the British Museum, discloses *Boea*. BOIA on the Stamford coins presumably denotes the same as BOGA &c. *Boia* (whence probably "boy") is written in Old English as *Boga* &c., with the palatal g (= y).

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
6	✠ ÆDELRED REX ΛNƆ[L]O	✠ LEOVINƆ MƆ ΣTΛ[N]FOR <i>Variety.</i> Annulet in field.	Brit. Mus. (Chester hoard). [Pl. III, fig. 32.]
7	✠ ÆDELRED RE+ ΛRF	✠ OEE' MƆ ΣTΛNFO	Brit. Mus. [Pl. III, fig. 33]
8	✠ ÆDELRED REX ΛNƆLO Inscription begins in front of bust, below.	+ PVLƆAR MƆ ΣTΛIF <i>Variety.</i> Annulet in field. From the same die as Eadweard the Martyr, No. 56, and 56 <i>a</i> .	Brit. Mus. (Chester hoard). [Pl. III, fig. 34.]
9	✠ EDELRED MEX ΛNƆL <i>Variety.</i> Three pellets before the face.	✠ PVLƆAR MƆ ΣTΛNF	Hildebrand, 3562.
10	✠ ÆDELRED REX ΛNƆLO	✠ PVLΣTΛN MƆ ΣTΛNFO <i>Variety.</i> Annulet in field.	Hildebrand, 3573.
11	(Unrecorded)	✠ PVLƆΣTΛN MƆ ΣTΛN ²	Montagu sale cat. 11.5.96, lot 4.

It will be observed that although the two coins of Eadweard the Martyr, Nos. 56 and 56 *a*, and the penny of Æthelred II, No. 8, are described as having been struck from the same reverse die, the two coins of the former reign are described as reading ✠ PVLƆAR MƆ ΣTΛN, while that of the latter reign is described as reading ✠ PVLƆAR MƆ ΣTΛIF.

It is beyond dispute that the three reverses are from the same die, and the reverse of the Eadweard the Martyr coins (Nos. 56 and 56 *a*) certainly appear to read — MƆ ΣTΛN. The British Museum specimen, No. 56 in the preceding list of coins of Eadweard the Martyr, is described in the *British Museum Catalogue*, p. 196, No. 32, as reading ✠ PVLƆAR MƆ ΣTΛN, and the present writer accepted that description in his record of Nos. 56 and 56 *a* in the preceding list of Eadweard the Martyr's coins. No. 56 *a*, from the same reverse die and with the same reverse legend,¹ came from the Drabble collection, lot 44. It is illustrated in the sale catalogue, where the reverse legend is given as PVLƆAR MƆ ΣTΛM.

Careful examination of the alleged Π at the end of the reverse legend of the two coins of Eadweard the Martyr, however, shows that the upper part of the two vertical strokes expand more than usual, and the expanding parts nearly meeting on the inside have the appearance of being connected at their apex and thus appearing to form an Π, but the present writer is not at all satisfied that an Π was intended by the die-sinker.

¹ OEE = OEE. See Eadgar, Nos. 33-4, and Eadweard the Martyr, Nos. 48-50, *ante*.

² The catalogue gives the reading as VVLƆΣTAN MO ΣTAN, but the above was doubtless the actual reading of the coin. Possibly the horizontal bar of the P was faintly struck, or even omitted in the die.

³ Cf. fig. 15, p. 69, *ante*, and Pl. II, fig. 28.

The penny of Æthelred II, No. 8 in the foregoing list of coins of that reign, came from the Chester hoard, which is described by Dr. (now Sir George) Hill, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920, where (p. 160, No. 102), he describes the reverse legend of this coin also as \ddagger PVLFGAR MTO STAM; and refers to *Hildebrand* (3563), where is described an exactly similar coin, apparently from the same dies, which also is read as PVLFGAR MTO STAM. The coin from the Chester hoard is illustrated on my Plate III, fig. 34, which shows quite clearly that two horizontal strokes have been added to the second vertical stroke of the alleged Π , thus forming an F, while the expansion at the top of the vertical strokes appears smaller, the former assumed Π being thus replaced by IF, the large pellet having disappeared into the broad part of the lower horizontal stroke forming the F, the full legend being thus altered to \ddagger PVLFGAR MTO STAFIF = STANF, the cross-bar of the N being omitted.



FIG. 18

TYPE II ("Hand" type)

Obverse. Draped and diademed bust of the king to right. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription commencing above the king's head. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse. Hand of Providence issuing from clouds; on either side, $\bar{\lambda}$, $\bar{\omega}$. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle. Occasionally an annulet or a pellet is shown in the clouds.

British Museum Catalogue,¹ type ii, var. a; *Ruding*,² Pl. 22, figs. 10-12; *Hildebrand*,³ type B.1; *Brooke*,⁴ Pl. XVI, fig. 7.

The Stamford moneyers who coined in this type number at least nine or ten, viz. Æthestan, Alfwald or Alfwold, Boge,⁵ Boia, Godwine, Grim, Leofdag or Leofdæg, Living, Wulfgar or Wulgar, and Wulfstan or Wulstan, of whom Alfwald, Boga, Grim, Living, Boge (?), Wulfgar, and Wulfstan were working at Stamford in type I.

The following varieties of Stamford coins of this type have come under the writer's notice:

¹ *British Museum Catalogue of English Coins, Anglo-Saxon Series*, vol. ii, 1893.

² *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, by the Rev. Rogers Ruding, 3rd edition, 1840.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Coins in The Royal Swedish Cabinet of Medals at Stockholm*, by B. E. Hildebrand, 1881.

⁴ *English Coins*, by G. C. Brooke, 1932.

⁵ Boge may be identical with Boia.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
12	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ /EDESTAN MTON ZTAN	Hildebrand, 3447.
13	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 44	✠ ALFFALD MTO STANV	Brit. Mus. [Pl. III, fig. 35]
14	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ ALFFOLD MTO STANF.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 36.]
15	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ ALFPOLD MO STAN.	Ruding, Pl. 22, fig. 11.
16	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ BOIA MTO ZTANFORD	Hildebrand, 3456.
17	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ BOIA MTO STANFOR.	Roy. Cab. Berlin.
18	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ BOIA MTO STANFOR Variety. Pellet in cloud.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 37.]
19	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ BOIA MTO STANFO	Hildebrand, 3455.
20	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ BOIA MTO STANFO Variety. Cuff of sleeve showing above cloud.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 38.]
21	(Unrecorded.)	✠ BOIA MTO STANF	Montagu sale cat. II.5. 1896, lot 9.
22	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ BOGE' MTO STANFORD	W. C. Wells.
23	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GODFINE MTO STEANFO ²	Hildebrand, 3521.
24	✠ /EDELRED [RE]X ANGLOR	✠ GOD[PIN]E MTO STANF	W. C. Wells. (Fragment.)
25	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GODFINE MTO STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 39.]
26	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GODPINE MTO STAN	W. Webster.
27	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODFINE MTO STAN Variety. Pellet in cloud.	W. C. Wells.
28	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	GRIM MTO STANFOR	W. C. Wells.
29	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GRIM MTO STANFOR	W. Webster.
30	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ LEODAG MTO STEANF ²	Hildebrand, 3528.

¹ *Boge* may be identical with *Boia*.² *Steanford* is the Mercian dialectal form of West Saxon *Stanford*.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
31	✠ /EDELRE[.]E :	[. . . .]FDEE M ^o ST[. . .] ¹	W. C. Wells. (Fragment.)
32	✠ /EDEERED REX ANGLOX	✠ LIVING M ^o STAN	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 18.]
33	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ LIVING M ^o STAN	W. Webster.
34	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ FVLFGAR M ^o STAN <i>Variety. Pellet under W.</i>	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3564.
35	✠ /EDELRED R[]	✠ FVLFGAR M ^o []	W. C. Wells (cut half-penny. [Pl. III, fig. 40.]
36	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ FVLGAR M ^o STEANFO ³	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3572.
37	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ FVLGAR M ^o STANF	Roy. Coll. Copenhagen. ²
38	✠ /EDELRED REX 'ANGLOX	✠ FVLGAR M ^o STANF	W. C. Wells.
39	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ FVLGAR M ^o STEANF ³	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3571.
40	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ FVLGAR M ^o STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3570.
41	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ FVLGAR M ^o STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3569.
42	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ FVLSTAN M ^o STEAN ³	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3565.
43	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ FVLSTAN H ^o STAN	H. A. Parsons.
44	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX ⁴ From the same die as No. 13, <i>ante</i> .	✠ FVLSTAN M ^o STAN From the same die as No. 45.	Brit. Mus. W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 41.]
45	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL From the same die as No. 46.	✠ FVLSTAN M ^o STAN From the same die as No. 44.	Brit. Mus. [Pl. III, fig. 42.]
46	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL From the same die as No. 45.	✠ FVLSTAN M ^o STAT	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 43.]
47	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ FVLSTAN M ^o STA	Brit. Mus. (Ex Ipswich hoard and Sir J. Evans coll.)

¹ Probably *Leofdeg*; see also the previous coin.

² The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen. Particulars of the Stamford coins in this collection were furnished by MM. Müller and Herbst in the sixties of last century, to Samuel Sharp, who incorporated those descriptions in his paper, "The Stamford Mint", *Numis. Chron.*, 1869.

³ See note 2 on previous page.

⁴ The British Museum specimen is from the same obverse die as No. 13, *ante* (compare Pl. III, figs. 35 and 41), the W.C.W. specimen, however, is from a different obverse die.



FIG. 19

TYPE III (Second "Hand type")

Obverse. Bust to right, diademed; in front of bust, sceptre, cross pommée. Around, inscription commencing above the king's head, between two circles, the outer one beaded.

Reverse. Hand of Providence issuing from clouds; on either side, $\bar{\lambda}$ - $\bar{\omega}$; lines curved outwards issuing from clouds on either side of Hand. Around, inscription between two circles, the outer one beaded.

Hawkins, 206; *British Museum Catalogue*, type ii, var. d; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, fig. 13; *Hildebrand*, B. 2; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 2.¹

The moneyers known to have been working at the Stamford mint in this type are Ælfwold, Æthelwyrd, Boga, Godwine, and Wulfstan, all of whom, with the exception of Æthelwyrd, were coining in type II. Æthelwyrd does not again appear as a Stamford moneyer.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
48	✠ /EDEL/ED REX ANLOX	✠ /ELFOLD M ^o STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3430.
49	✠ /EDEL/ED REX ANLOX	✠ /EDELFYRD M ^o ST	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3446.
50	✠ /EDEL/ED REX ANLOX	✠ BOGA M ^o STANFO	Roy. Cab. Copenhagen.
51	✠ /EDELRED REX ANLOX	✠ GODFINE M ^o STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3523.
52	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLX	✠ GODFINE M ^o STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3522.
53	✠ /EDEL/ED REX ANLOX	✠ FVLSTAN M ^o STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3566.

Stamford coins of this type are of considerable rarity, no specimen of this type, of the Stamford mint, having appeared in the dispersal of any British collection, large or small, during the past fifty years. The writer has not seen a specimen, nor does he know of any British collection containing one. The foregoing six examples from the Stamford Mint, in foreign collections, appear to be all that have been recorded, consequently the writer has found it necessary, owing to exigencies of the war, to illustrate a coin (Fig. 19) struck at a mint other than Stamford. This remark also applies to the succeeding type.

¹ *The Coinage of England*, by Sir Charles Oman, 1931.



FIG. 20

TYPE IV ("Benediction" type)

Obverse. Draped, but not diademed, bust of the king to right; in front of bust, sceptre, cross pattée; plain inner circle. Around, inscription commencing above the king's head. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse. Hand of Providence giving the Latin benediction, i.e. third and fourth fingers closed, issuing from clouds. Cross pattée in cloud. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

British Museum Catalogue, type ii, var. f.; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, fig. 15, Pl. D, fig. 37; *Hildebrand*, type B 3.

The following is the only Stamford coin of this type that has come under the present writer's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
54	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOꝝ	✠ ALFGAR M ^o STANF	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3448.

This is the first appearance of the moneyer Alfgar's name upon a Stamford coin. He coined also in type V, but his name does not appear subsequently.



FIG. 21

TYPE V ("Crux" type)

Obverse. Draped bust, without fillet, of the king to left; in front of bust sceptre, cross pommée. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription commencing above the king's head. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse. Short cross voided, in the angles CRV+ commencing in the second (heraldic) quarter. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

British Museum Catalogue, type iii; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, fig. 4; *Hildebrand*, type C; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, fig. 8.

The recorded moneyers whose names appear upon Stamford coins of the "Crux" type are: Ælfgar, Ælfget, Alfwold, Aeswy[g], Brun, Cristhin, Godelef or Godeleof, Godwine, Swartgar, and Wulfstan, all of whom are new to the Stamford mint with the exception of Alfwold, Godwine, and Wulfstan who were coining there previously. That this is the correct chronological position of the "Crux" type is shown by the "mule" coin figured by *Hildebrand*, as type C, variety *d*, which comprises the obverse of the "Benediction" type combined with the reverse of the "Crux" type.

The following varieties of Stamford coins of this type have come under the writer's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
55	✠ /ÆÐLELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ /ÆLFELAR M ^{TO} STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 44.]
56	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGL	✠ /ÆLFELAR M ^{TO} TAM	Holmboe ¹
57	✠ /ÆÐER/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ /ÆLFEEET M ^{TO} STAN <i>Variety.</i> Pellet in third quarter.	W. C. Wells.
58	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ ALFPOLD M ^{TO} STAN.	W. C. Wells.
59	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ ALFPOLD M ^{TO} STF	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 345 ^t . Roy. Coll. Copenhagen.
60	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED RE+ ANGLORX	✠ AESPY M ^{TO} STAN <i>Variety.</i> "before E in "CRV+".	S. Sharp.
61	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ BRVN M ^{TO} STAN ²	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 21.]
62	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ CRISÐIN M ^{TO} STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 45.]
63	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODELEOF M ^{TO} STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 349 ^t .
64	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODELEF M ^{TO} STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 359 ^t .
65	✠ /ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODFINE M ^{TO} STAN	Roy. Coll. Copenhagen.

¹ *Munter fra Milderhalderen, funde ved Egerfund*, Christiania, 1836, being a description of 1,500 coins, 725 of which were Anglo-Saxon, found in Norway in February of that year.

² This is the only Stamford coin of any type or reign, by a moneyer BRVN, that has come under the author's notice. The name *Brun* appears upon Exeter coins of type II of this reign and upon London coins of the reigns of Canute, Harold I, and Harthacnut; and upon Ipswich and Winchester coins of the reign of Eadweard the Confessor.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
66	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODFINE M ^o STAN	W. C. Wells.
67	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODFINE M ^o STAN	W. C. Wells.
68	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ GODPNE M ^o STAN	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. [Pl. III, fig. 46.]
69	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ SFARTEAR M ^o STAN	Cuff sale, 1854.
70	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ FVLFFSTAN M ^o STAN	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
71	✠ ÆÐELR/ED REX ANGLORX	✠ FVLFFSTAN M ^o STAN	Roy. Coll. Copenhagen.



FIG. 22

TYPE VI ("Long cross" type)

Obverse. Draped bust of the king, to left, without fillet or diadem; the hair is stiffly brushed up and resembles a comb or helmet; around, inscription which commences above the king's head. No inner circle. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse. Long cross voided and extending to the edge of the coin, generally with a pellet in the centre, each limb terminating in three crescents; around, inscription divided into four sections by arms of the cross. No inner circle. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Hawkins, 207; *British Museum Catalogue*, type iv, var. a; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, figs. 2-3, Pl. 28, fig. 1, Pl. 30, fig. 24; *Hildebrand*, type D; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, fig. 10; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 4.

During the issue of this type the Stamford mint employed at least fifteen moneyers, viz. Ælfget, Ælfrerd (Ælfwerd), Ælfwine or Elfwine, Ascwge or Ascwig, Cristin or Cristhin, Eadwi[ne], Elebriht, Godæg, Godleof or Godeleof, Leofwine or Lefwine, Lifinc, Liofnea (?), Scot, Swartgar or Swertgar, and Wulfstan, of whom Ælfget, Ascwig, Cristin, Godeleof, Swartgar, and Wulfstan were coining at Stamford in the previous type. Elebriht is new to this mint and his name does not occur again on later types.

The large increase in the number of moneys issuing this type undoubtedly indicates a greatly increased demand for coin in order to meet one of the larger danegelt payments.

The following varieties of this type have come under the author's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
72	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN ¹	Cuff sale, 1854.
73	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O S/TAN ¹	W. C. Wells.
74	✠ EDELRED R/EX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	Hildebrand, 3428.
75	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. C. Wells.
76	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELFGET M/O STAN	W. C. Wells.
77	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ELFPNE MO STA	W. Webster.
78	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ /ELF/PNE/M'O S/TAN	W. C. Wells.
79	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ANSC/PE M/O ST/AMN	W. C. Wells.
80	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ANS/CPCE/M/O/STA	W. C. Wells.
81	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ANS-CPCE MO STA ¹	S. Sharp.
82	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL From same die as No. 83.	✠ ANS/CPCE/M/O/STA	W. C. Wells.
83	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL From same die as No. 82.	✠ ANS/CPCE/M'O/STA	W. C. Wells.
84	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ANS/CPCE/M'O/STA	Brit. Mus.
85	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ANSCPE M/O STA ¹	Hildebrand, 3453.
86	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ANSCPE M/O STA ¹	W. Webster.
87	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ANSCPE M'O STA ¹	Hildebrand, 3452.

¹ The transverse lines indicate where, on the obverse, the inscription is intersected by the king's bust and, on the reverse, where the inscription is intersected by the arms of the cross. These divisions are not generally indicated in printed lists (e.g. *Hildebrand*), nor in sale catalogues, hence their frequent omission in these lists from descriptions of coins not personally verified.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
88	(Unrecorded.)	✠ ASCPE MO STĀ ²	..
89	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ CRISTAN M ^o STAN ²	Upsala, Sweden. ¹
90	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL From the same die as No. 91.	✠ CRI/STIN/MO/STAN <i>Variety.</i> Small pellet in third and fourth (her- aldic) quarters.	W. C. Wells. [PI. IV, fig. 47.]
91	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL From the same die as No. 90.	✠ CRI/STIN/MO/STAN ²	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
92	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ CRISTIN MO STAN	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
93	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ CRISTINE MO STAN	W. Webster.
94	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ CRISTIN M ^o STAN ²	Hildebrand, 3459.
95	✠ /EDEL RDE REX ANGL	✠ CRISTIN M ^o STAN ²	Hildebrand, 3457.
96	✠ /EDEL RED REX ANGL	✠ EADPI M ^o STAN	Bury St. Edmunds Mus. ³
97	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ EADPI/M ^o /STA	W. C. Wells.
98	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ ELE3 ⁴ /BRIH/T M ^o /STAN	Brit. Mus.
99	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ EOD/EG MO STAN ²	Hildebrand, 3486.
100	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ EOD/EG M/OO S/TAN <i>Variety.</i> Annulet enclos- ing pellet, in second (heraldic) quarter.	W. C. Wells. [PI. IV, fig. 49.]
101	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL ^o From the same die as No. 102.	✠ EOD/EG/ M ^o S/TAN	W. C. Wells. [PI. IV, fig. 48.]

¹ The Collection of Coins of the University of Upsala, Sweden—from the Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins by Schröder, 1825; also "Schröder, *Numorum A.S. Centuria Selecta*, Upsalæ, 1847".

² See note 1 on p. 85, *ante*.

³ This coin was found at Whepstead, Suffolk. In 1865 it was in the Museum at Bury St. Edmunds, where it was seen by Samuel Sharp. The coin, however, has been missing many years.

⁴ This 3-like character appears to have no reference to the legend and, consequently, is redundant. The name was probably *Elfbrigt* or *Æthelbrigt*. It occurs elsewhere upon Ipswich coins of the reign of Canute, Harold I, and William I, where the forms used are *Elbrigt*, *Ælbrht*, *Ælbrigt*, *Æthlbrigt*, *Æglbrht*, *Ægelbrigt*, &c.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
102	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 101.	✠ GO/D/EG/ M'Q S/TAN	W. C. Wells.
103	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GOD/EG M'Q STAN ²	J. Phillips. ¹
104	✠ EDELRED REX LI From the same die as No. 107.	✠ GO/D/EG/ M'Q S/TAN	W. C. Wells.
105	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GOD/EG M'Q STAN ²	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
106	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GOD/EG M'Q STAN ²	Hildebrand, 3483.
107	✠ EDELRED REX LI From the same die as No. 104.	✠ GO/D/EG/M'Q/STAN	W. C. Wells.
108	✠ EDELRED REX LI	✠ GOD/EG MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3484.
109	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 130.	✠ GOD/ELEO/F M'Q/ STAN	[Pl. IV, fig. 50.]
110	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 118.	✠ GOD/ELEO/F M'Q/ STAN	W. C. Wells.
111	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GOD/ELEO/F M'Q/ STAN	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
112	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GOD/LEOF/MQO/ STAN	R. C. Lockett.
113	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOX	✠ CODELEOF M'Q STAN ²	Hildebrand, 3501.
114	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GO/DLEO/F M'Q/ STAN	W. C. Wells.
115	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GODLEOF MQO STAN	Hildebrand, 3506.
116	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GODLEOP MQO STAN ^{2,3}	Hildebrand, 3508.
117	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ GO/DELO/F M'Q/ STAN	Brit. Mus.

¹ The late Joseph Phillips, Stamford.² See note 1 on p. 85, *ante*.³ In Hildebrand, p. 490, No. 97, is described a penny of Sihtric III, King of Dublin, 989-1029, inscribed on the obverse, SIHTRE RE+ DYFLNI, and on the reverse, + GODLEOP MQO STAN. This coin is probably from the same reverse die as No. 116, above. See also note 2, p. 105, *post*.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
118	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 110.	✠ CO/DELE/OF M ^o /O STAN	W. C. Wells.
119	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ CO/DELE/OF M ^o /O STAN	W. C. Wells.
120	✠ /EDELRED REX	✠ LEOPNE M ^o O STAN ¹	Hildebrand, 3529.
121	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ LIFNE M ^o O STAN ¹	Hildebrand, 3532.
122	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ LEPPNE MO STAN ¹	Cuff sale, 1854.
123	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ LIOFNEA M ^o O STAN ¹ Inscription retrograde.	Hildebrand, 3533.
124	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ SC/OT M/O S/TAN From the same die as Nos. 125 and 126.	W. C. Wells.
125	OTX +EY DERLEDEY ✠ (= ✠ /EDELRED RE+ ANGLOR)	✠ SC/OT M/O S/TAN From the same die as Nos. 124 and 126.	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. [Fig. 23.]
126	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ SC/OT M/O STAN From the same die as Nos. 124 and 125.	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 24.]
127	✠ EDELRED RE+ AN ²	✠ SC/OT M/O S/TAN	Hildebrand, 3539.
128	✠ EDELRED REX L	✠ SC/OT M/O S/TAN	Hildebrand, 3538.
129	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ SPARTCAR M ^o O STAN ¹	Hildebrand, 3541.
130	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR From the same die as No. 109.	✠ SPE/RTCA/R M ^o O/ STAN	W. C. Wells.
131	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ SPE/RTCA/R M ^o O/ STAN	W. C. Wells.
132	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ SPE/RTCA/R M ^o O/ STAN	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 22.]
133	X EDELRED EX[?] ANGLOR	✠ SPERTCAR M ^o O STAN ¹	S. Sharp.

¹ See note 1 on p. 85, ante.

² Bust and inscription retrograde. This coin is possibly from the same dies as No. 125, the obverse legend having been slightly misread.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
134	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL.	✠ SPERTCAR M'O STAN	Hildebrand, 3559.
135	✠ EDELRED RE ANGO	✠ SPE/RTCA/R M'O/ STAN	Hildebrand, 4382.
136	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR M'O STAN	Hildebrand, 3560.
137	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL.	✠ SP/ERC/R 'MO/ STA	W. C. Wells.
138	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX AN	✠ SPERTCAR MO STA	Hildebrand, 3556.
139	✠ /EDELRED REX AIG	✠ SPERTCAR MO STA	Hildebrand, 3557.
140	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX AEL	✠ SPERTCAR MO STA	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
141	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ SPERTCAR M'O STA	Hildebrand, 3558.
142	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ PVL/FSTAN/M'O/ STA	W. C. Wells. (Ex Rashleigh Coll.)
143	✠ EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ PVLFASTAN M'O STA	Hildebrand, 3568.

The chronological sequence of types VI (*Hawkins*, 207) and VII (*Hawkins*, 203) has been a subject for discussion amongst numismatists and it has been generally assumed that type *Hawkins*, 203, preceded type *Hawkins*, 207. The evidence of the contents of finds has been adduced in an attempt to show that that was the correct sequence, but the evidence thus advanced fails to throw any weight on either side. The question of M'O, MΩO &c, and ON connecting the moneyer's name with that of the mint has also been advanced, to the same end, but again the evidence is of no value in helping to decide the correct sequence of those two types. There is, however, an item of evidence which definitely proves that the issue of type *Hawkins*, 207, preceded that of *Hawkins*, 203.

Elsewhere² I have demonstrated that *Hamwic* was an early name of Southampton, and also that the much debated coins inscribed with the mint name *Hamwic*, and its contractions, ranging in point of date from the last coinage of Eadgar to the latter part of the reign of Æthelred II, were struck at the tenth and early eleventh century representative of Southampton, and that the series reading HAMTVN, and its contractions, previously attributed to Southampton, emanated from the Northampton mint.

The Hamwic, or Southampton mint, was subordinate to that of Winchester, whence the moneyers would be supplied to Hamwic.

¹ See note 1 on p. 85, *ante*.

² *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xvii, p. 13 *et seq.*

One of these moneyers was *Spileman*,¹ who issued coins at Hamwic in type VI (*Hawkins*, 207), and during the issue of that type, upon the total destruction of Hamwic² (in 1014?), *Spileman* was transferred to the Winchester mint where he continued to coin in type VI and the succeeding types, VII and IX, of Æthelred. He also continued to coin at Winchester through the reigns of Canute, Harold I, and Eadweard the Confessor. This *Spileman* is the only moneyer of that name on record, and the fact that during the issue of type VI he was transferred from Hamwic to Winchester, where he continued his coining activities in the same and in later types, including *Hawkins*, 203, definitely proves that *Hawkins*, 207, preceded *Hawkins*, 203.



FIG. 23



FIG. 24



Occasionally we find coins on which the obverse or the reverse legend is retrograde, and sometimes the bust also is retrograde. This peculiarity is generally the result of the die-sinker having had before him as a model a coin which he copied directly on to his die, and in consequence, when a coin was struck from the die the whole design was retrograde. No. 125 in the foregoing list, a penny of Æthelred II, type VI (*Hks.* 207), in the writer's collection, is an excellent example of a coin of this description. On the obverse the king's bust is turned to the right instead of to the left and the legend reads $\alpha\iota\kappa + \epsilon\delta\epsilon\lambda\text{red} \text{re} + \pi\iota\sigma$ (= $\text{ÆDELRED RE} + \text{PIO}$) (see Fig. 23), and the reverse, which is of quite normal workmanship, is inscribed SCOT MCO STAN . Another coin, also in the author's collection (No. 126), was struck from the same reverse die and the obverse also is quite normal (see Fig. 24). Hildebrand describes two other coins by *Scot* which also appear to have been struck from the same reverse die, but from different obverse dies (Nos. 127 and 128 in the foregoing list).

It has been suggested that the English die-sinkers of this period were well versed in the elementary practices of their art, but that those engravers of dies from which the retrograde coins were produced were unaware of the first principles of their art, and that consequently the coins with retrograde obverses or reverses, or both, must be classed as contemporary forgeries. There is, however, nothing to indicate that No. 125 in the foregoing list is of the class indicated. The reverse is from a die of normal official workmanship with which several different obverse dies were used, and the coin in question is of excellent silver and weighs 21 grains. That also applies to another coin from the same dies formerly in the author's cabinet, afterwards

¹ Generally but erroneously rendered **SPILEMAN** = Swileman.

² See *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xvii, pp. 19-23.

in the Barnett collection and now in the British Museum (Barnett bequest).

FORGERY BY OFFICIAL MONEYPERS

From very early times official moneyers have been guilty of falsifying the coin, for the purity and good weight of which they were held responsible. In Great Britain and in Ireland have been discovered specimens of ring money of the first and second centuries B.C., supposed to be of solid gold but which upon close examination have proved to be composed of a copper core covered with a thin sheet of gold. The writer possesses several ancient British coins of a similar character, including an uninscribed specimen, found at Colchester, supposed to be of silver but which is of copper plated with silver, and a striking in copper from a die for a stater of Cunobeline. These coins were struck from official dies, and the latter piece was undoubtedly originally plated with gold. Sir John Evans in his *Coins of the Ancient Britons* has recorded several coins of a similar nature. Saxon sceattas of the eighth century composed of a copper core plated with silver are not at all uncommon.

In Anglo-Saxon and later times falsification by official moneyers generally took the form of issuing coins in silver of very low standard or of low weight,¹ or both. Sometimes the coin has a base metal centre with a thin plate of silver on each side.

The foregoing list of coins of type VI, of Æthelred II, includes two examples of false coining by official moneyers, viz. Nos. 76 and 124. These coins, both of which are in the writer's collection, were undoubtedly struck from official dies, are of very base silver, and in each case weigh only 13½ grains. No. 76 is inscribed ✠ÆLFRED MO ST (= ÆLPERD MO ST), and No. 126, SCOT MEO STAN. The former is the only Stamford coin by the moneyer Ælfwerd, issued in any reign, of which the writer has a record. Possibly Ælfwerd's fraudulent practices were quickly detected and probably he lost his right hand, or even his life, as a result, which would, in either case, account for his name failing to appear upon Stamford coins of later issues. The second coin, also of type VI, is inscribed ✠SCOT MEO STAN. In the case of this moneyer the writer has a record of several other varieties of obverse readings, two of which are in his collection, and both are of normal weight and of good silver.

¹ From the Norman Conquest down to the 28th year of Edward I, the recognized weight of the penny was 24 grains Tower, or one pennyweight, so that a pound of silver coin was a pound both in weight and tale; and as the Conqueror does not appear to have made any alterations in the conditions governing the mints of this country when he arrived here, we may safely conclude that the recognized weight of the penny in late Anglo-Saxon times was 24 grains Tower. The pound Tower, which was in use in the English mints down to the 18th year of Henry VIII, when it was abolished by proclamation and the pound Troy substituted, differed from Troy in weight only, for it consisted of 12 ounces, each ounce of 20 pennyweights and each pennyweight of 24 grains. But the pound Troy equalled 12 ounces 15 pennyweights Tower, the pennyweight thus equalling about 25¼ grains Tower.

The fineness appears to have been nearly equal to the standard previous to 1220, viz. 11 ounces and 2 pennyweights fine and 18 pennyweights of alloy.

Scot's name likewise fails to appear upon Stamford coins of subsequent issues, so possibly he also suffered the usual punishment inflicted upon detection. The reason for placing upon the coin the moneyer's name together with the name of the mint at which he was working, was to enable the exchequer authorities to fix responsibility when a fraudulent coin was detected, and our two Stamford moneyers could hardly expect to avoid detection when their coins of base silver and of light weight were plainly inscribed with the statement that they were made by the moneyers Ælfwerd and Scot at Stamford. From the time of Æthelstan onward many laws were passed forbidding the falsification of the money, directed against the ordinary counterfeiter as well as the falsifying official moneyer. The earliest edict of the kind with which we are acquainted dates from the reign of Æthelstan, in whose laws, it is ordained that:

"If the moneyer be guilty [of striking base coin], let the hand be struck off with which he wrought that offence, and be set on the money-smithy; but if an accusation, and he is willing to clear himself; then let him go to the hot-iron, and clear the hand therewith which he is charged that fraud to have wrought. And if at the ordeal he should be guilty, let the like be done as is here before ordained."¹

In the *Laws of Canute* we find that:

"One [kind of] money shall pass over all the nation, without any counterfeit, and let no man that refuse; and he who after this shall make false [coin], let him forfeit the hands with which he wrought that false [coin], and not redeem them with any thing, neither with gold nor with silver."²

And in the *Laws of Æthelred II*, it is ordained that:

"Every moneyer who is accused of striking false money since it was forbidden shall go to the three-fold ordeal; and if he be foul [*i.e.* if he be found guilty], let him be slain."³

The "three-fold ordeal" is explained in the *Laws of Æthelstan*, where he says:

"We have ordained . . . that the ordeal-iron be increased so that it weigh three pounds; and that the man who is accused shall go thereto."⁴

And in the *Laws of Eadgar* we find it enacted that:

"The iron that is for the three-fold ordeal [shall] weigh three pounds; and for the single one pound."⁵

Ordeal by fire such as was imposed upon alleged fraudulent moneyers was performed by taking up in the hand a piece of red-hot iron, of one, two, or three pounds weight; the accused was compelled to carry

¹ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, p. 88.

² *Ibid.*, p. 163.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

the red-hot iron usually for a distance of 9 feet, and if he escaped being burned by it he was adjudged innocent; but if it happened otherwise, as without collusion or trickery it always did, he was condemned as "foul" or guilty.

In the *Laws of Æthelstan*, we find a description of the method employed at a trial by fire ordeal, which is as follows:

"And concerning the ordeal we enjoin by command of God, and of the archbishop, and of all bishops: that no man come within the Church after the fire has been borne in with which the ordeal shall be heated, except the mass-priest and him who shall go thereto: and let there be measured nine feet from the stake to the mark by the man's feet who goes thereto. . . . And when the ordeal is ready, then let two men go in of either side; and be they agreed that it is so hot as we have before said. And let go in of equal number of men of either side, and stand on both sides of the ordeal along the church; and let these all be fasting, and abstinent from their wives that night; and let the mass-priest sprinkle holy water over them all and let each of them taste of the holy water, and give them all the book and image of Christ's rood to kiss: and let no man mend the fire any longer when the hallowing is begun; but let the iron lie upon the hot embers till the last collect: after that let it be laid upon the 'stapela'; and let there be no other speaking within, except that they earnestly pray to Almighty God he make what is soothest. And then let him go thereto; and let his hand be enveloped, and be it postponed till after the third day whether it be foul or clean within the envelope."¹



FIG. 25

TYPE VII² ("Helmet" type)

Obverse. Bust of the king to left in chain armour and radiate helmet and descending to the edge of the coin. No inner circle. Around, inscription, which commences at the left of the coin. The whole enclosed by a beaded outer circle.

Reverse. Quadrilateral ornament with incurved sides and three pellets at each corner; over it, bisecting the sides, a long cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents and extending to the outer circle. A pellet in the centre. No inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed

¹ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, p. 96.

² Concerning the correct chronological sequence of types VI and VII, see pp. 89-90, ante.

within a beaded outer circle (similar to the reverse of the previous type (type VI), but with the addition of the quadrilateral ornament.

Hawkins, 203; *British Museum Catalogue*, type viii; *Ruding*, Pl. 22, fig. 1; *Hildebrand*, type E; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, figs. 4, 9; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 5.

The recorded moneyers who coined at Stamford in this type are seven in number, viz. Æscwig, Edwine, Escea, Godæg, Godleof, Godric, and Swertgar, all of whom coined there in the previous type with the exception of Escea and Godric. The former does not occur again, but the latter continued to work at Stamford until the fifth type of Eadweard the Confessor.

The following varieties of this type have come under the author's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
144	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL' O'	✠ /ESC/PIG M/ΩO Σ/TAN	H. A. Parsons.
145	✠ /EDEL R/ED RE+ ANGL O	✠ /ESC/PIG M/ΩO Σ/TAN	Brit. Mus.
146	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ /EΣ/CPIC/ MΩ'O/ STAN	W. C. Wells.
147	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ /ESCPIG MΩO STAN ¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3435.
148	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL O	✠ /ESCPIG MΩO STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3433.
149	✠ EDEL R/ED RE+ ANGL	✠ AS/CPCE/M'O/STAN	W. C. Wells.
150	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL O	✠ EDPINE MΩO STANFOR ¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3469.
151	✠ EDEL·RED REX ANGL O	✠ ESC/EA M/ΩO Σ/TAN	W. C. Wells.
152	X EDELRED RE+ ANO	X ESC/EA M/ΩO Σ/TAN	W. C. Wells.
153	X EDELRED REX ANGO <i>Variety.</i> Large lozenge- shape pellet before the king's chin.	X ESC/EA M/ΩO Σ/TAN ¹ <i>Variety.</i> Large lozenge- shape pellet in the 4th (heraldic) quarter.	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 51.]
154	✠ EDELRED REX ANGO	✠ ESC/EA MΩO STAN ¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3473.
155	✠ EDELRED REX ANGL O	✠ ESC/EA MΩO STAN ¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3472.
156	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGL	✠ ESC/EA MΩO STAN ¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3470.

¹ See note 1 on p. 85, *ante*.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
157	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ EO/D/EG M/OO S/TAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 52.]
158	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ EO/D/EG M/OO/ STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 53.]
159	✠ EDERLEDI EX ANGO	✠ EODEG MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3490.
160	✠ EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ EO/DEG M/OO S/TAN	W. C. Wells.
161	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ EOD/LEOF M'O S/TAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 54.]
162	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ EO/DRIC M/OO/ STAN	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 25.]
163	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ SPARTER MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3543.
164	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ SPARTER M'O/SAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 55.]



FIG. 26

TYPE VIII ("Agnus Dei" type)

Obverse. The "Agnus Dei" to right with halo and cross banner; below, $\overline{\text{K}} \text{E}$, or $\overline{\text{K}} \text{EN}$, within a border of dots. No inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse. A bird "displayed". It has more the appearance of a raven, but, taking into consideration the type of the obverse, it is probably intended to represent the "Holy Dove". No inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

British Museum Catalogue, type x; *Hildebrand*, type G; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, fig. 5; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 6.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
165	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLORVM	✠ /EDELNV STANFORDAN	Erbstein, <i>Numismatische Bruchstücke</i> , p. 96, Pl. II, fig. 23. [Fig. 26.]

The above is the only recorded Stamford coin of this type. It is

¹ See note 1 on p. 85, *ante*.

described and figured by K. F. W. Erbstein in *Numismatische Bruchstücke*, Pl. II, fig. 23, where it is allocated to Frankfort, and is ascribed to the fifteenth century. Erbstein (op. cit., p. 97) says he gives this information "for the benefit of ardent collectors of mediæval coins who may not be so well acquainted with the subject as he is"! The reverse legend as shown in Erbstein's illustration is ✠ÆDELNV STANFORDA, but there can be no doubt that the inscription was misread and that the moneyer's name was *Æthelwine*, and that the coin was struck by the moneyer who also issued the "mule" coin which connects this specimen with *Æthelwine*'s coins of type IX (Nos. 166, 179/80, *post*). The coin is pierced and appears to have suffered considerably from wear as a fob-chain or bracelet charm, which probably accounts for Erbstein's obvious misreading of the reverse legend and also for the incorrect drawing of the coin.

Coins of this type are very rare, only ten specimens being known. Hildebrand describes five specimens, viz. Northampton two (wrongly allocated to Southampton), Hereford, Malmesbury, and Stafford one each, as being in the Royal Collection at Stockholm, and he refers to a specimen struck at Nottingham, in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen. An imperfect example struck at Malmesbury, and apparently from the same dies as the Stockholm coin, was in the Rashleigh Collection; another, of the Derby mint, was in the Hilton-Price Collection, afterwards in the Carlyon-Britton cabinet, and another, apparently a duplicate of the latter example, is described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893.

These pieces have been described as having been struck as commemorative medallets, and not intended for currency, a suggestion to which the present writer is unable to subscribe. If they were merely a commemorative issue, why do they exhibit the name of the moneyer who struck them and of the mint from which they emanated? And moreover, why was the obverse "muled" with a reverse die which was afterwards used in conjunction with at least two obverse dies of type IX? In the present writer's opinion the latter fact condemns the "medalset" theory.

That these coins are of a commemorative character there can be little doubt, and the special character of their devices shows that some important event, past or anticipated, influenced the selection of those devices. All *Æthelred*'s coins are of a religious nature, nearly all the other types exhibiting on the reverse a cross of some kind, but the device of the "*Agnus Dei*" coins differs entirely from that of any other coins issued in this country before or since. It has been suggested *inter alia* that they were struck in anticipation of the expected millennium, but that is ruled out by their date, for there can be little doubt that they were issued in 1014, the "mule" cut halfpenny showing that they were struck shortly before the issue of type IX, the late small cross type. Undoubtedly these coins were issued on the occasion of some important personal event in the king's life, and the most important event at that time was *Æthelred*'s return to the throne, which was

considered by the superstitious, and apparently by the king himself, to have been brought about by a special intervention of Providence.

As the writer has shown elsewhere,¹ the ealdormen of the large provinces were to all intents and purposes petty princes, and the most important of the ealdormen of the period under consideration was the sly and treacherous Eadric Streona, ealdorman of Mercia, whose territory extended from Bristol on the Avon to Barton on the Humber. There can be no doubt that the ealdormen held control of the coinage issued in their ealdormanry, and it is unlikely that the ambitious Eadric would forgo the exercise of any one of the prerogatives appertaining to his office.

As stated above, the known mints from which the *Agnus Dei* coins emanated are Derby, Hereford, Northampton, Nottingham, Stafford, Stamford, and Malmesbury. Of these mints the first six were within the Mercian ealdormanry, and we are entitled to consider this type a purely Mercian coinage, for Malmesbury, situated as it is near the border of Gloucestershire and several miles north-east of Bristol, would thus be upon the threshold of the ealdormanry of Mercia; and as the *Agnus Dei* coins were evidently issued but a short time before the defection of Eadric, in 1015, when Hampshire and the southern part of Wiltshire was held by Eadric for Æthelred, and was thus temporarily in the ealdormanry of Mercia, it is reasonable to assume that Eadric would exercise his privilege of issuing coins at Malmesbury. It is difficult to define accurately the exact boundary of any ealdorman's territory at a time like this when their spheres of influence fluctuated so often.



FIG. 27

MULE TYPE VIII/IX

Obverse. The "*Agnus Dei*" to right with halo and cross banner; below ÆGN within a border of dots, &c., as type VIII.

Reverse. A small cross pattée within a plain inner circle, &c., as type IX.

British Museum Catalogue, type xi; *Hildebrand*, Pl. 5, type G., variety a.

The following is the only specimen of this combination type known

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
166	[✠/Æ]ÐELR/ED REX ANGLOR]	[✠/ÆDEL]FINE ON STANF.] From the same die as Nos. 179 and 180.	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3445. Cut halfpenny. [Fig. 27.]

¹ *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xvii, pp. 37-8.



FIG. 28



FIG. 29

FIG. 30

TYPE IX (Late small cross type)

Obverse. Draped and filleted bust of the king to left. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription commencing above the king's head; the whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle (similar to type I, but differing in details).

Reverse. A small cross pattée within a plain inner circle. Around, inscription; the whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle (similar to type I).

Hawkins, (included in) 205; *British Museum Catalogue*, type i, Pl. xv, fig. 2, &c.; *Ruding*, Pl. D, fig. 34; *Hildebrand*, (included in) type A; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, fig. 6; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 1.

To produce this, the most plentiful type of Æthelred's coins, no less than sixteen or seventeen moneyers were employed at the Stamford mint, viz. Æscman, Æscwig, Æthelwine, Edwine or Eadwine, Godæg, Godeleof, Godere, Godric, Godwine, Leofwine, Livegod, Osmund, Swert (possibly a contracted form of Swertbrand or Swertgar), Swertbrand, Swartgar or Swertgar, Thorstan or Thurstan, and Ulfcetel or Ulfgrim, of whom Æscwig, Edwine, Godæg, Godeleof, and Swertgar continued their services from type VII, and Æthelwine continued from type VIII and the "mule" type ^{VIII}_{IX}. Godere, Livegod, Osmund, and Ulf—were new moneyers to the Stamford mint and their names do not occur on later issues.

This type was to all intents and purposes a reproduction of type I, which was undoubtedly the first type of the reign, but although the general design is the same the execution of the dies and the general character of the coins differs materially.¹ The British Museum authorities have, until recent years at least, always considered *all* coins of this general design to have been the initial issue of the reign and, accordingly, in the *British Museum Catalogue* these coins are

¹ Cp. Figs. 16 and 17 with Figs. 25, 26, and 27.

described as type i. This classification was generally accepted by numismatists, although many collectors found themselves unable to reconcile that classification with the fact that many moneyers whose names occur on coins of this general type continued to work at the same mints through several successive types of Canute and even later reigns. This shows quite clearly that those coins were not coined in the early part of the reign.

In 1910¹ Mr. H. A. Parsons challenged the generally accepted classification by putting forward the theory that *all* coins of this general design belong to the latter part of the reign and were in fact the *last* type issued by Æthelred. Again, collectors failed to accept the theory in its entirety, for they discovered that in some cases moneyers whose names appear upon coins of what we now know to be the early issue of this design (i.e. type I), were working at the same mints in the reigns of Eadgar and Eadweard the Martyr,² but their names were not to be found upon coins of the same mint issued in the reign of Canute. These facts showed quite clearly that some of the coins were issued at the commencement of the reign and that others, at least 90 per cent. of the whole, were struck at the end of Æthelred's reign. A table is appended showing the moneyers' names which occur upon Stamford coins of this general design, whether of type I or type IX, and showing also the various types in which those moneyers were working before and after the issue of types I and IX, as well as their use of M^{CO}, ON, &c., which will illustrate the foregoing and later remarks.

Hildebrand, on page 23 of the 1846 edition of his work and repeated on page 29 of the 1881 edition, remarks, in reference to his type A (*Hawkins*, 205), that:

"Without doubt the same type was in continuous use together with the later ones, during the whole of King Æthelred's reign, in consequence of which the coin has varied much in regard to size, weight and inscription."

Hildebrand's words are somewhat ambiguous. He appears to suggest that this type was introduced at the commencement of the reign and continued to be issued along with the other successive types all through the reign. Hildebrand's suggestion may have been considered reasonable a century ago, when this view was formulated, but in the light of present-day knowledge of numismatics such a view is quite unacceptable. Hildebrand's words may admit of the construction that he intended to convey the idea of several intermittent issues of a similar type. The late Dr. Brooke says: "Hildebrand does not state clearly whether he thinks the type continued incessantly or was recalled into use at urgent periods" for the payment of tributes to the Danes. "The former view", he says, "is so unnatural, and the latter so suitable both to the history of the period and to Hildebrand's

¹ *Numis. Chron.*, 1910.

² See table on p. 71, *ante*.

Moneyers	Table showing the contracted forms M ^o , ON, &c. used by the moneyers issuing types I and IX																			
	Eadgar		Eadweard the Martyr		Æthelred II								Canute				Harold I		Harthacnut	
	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V	Type VI	Type VII	Type VIII	Type IX	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type I	Type II	Type I	Type II			
WULFSTAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
WULSTAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ÆLFWALD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ÆLFWOLD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
WULFGAR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
WULGAR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
HILD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
OGEA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
BOGA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GRIM	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
LEFING	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
LEOFING	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ÆSCMAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODWINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ÆSCWIG	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODELEOF	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODELF	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
LEOFWINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
LEFWINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
EADWINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODEG	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
SWERTGAR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
SWARTGAR	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODRIC	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
THURSTAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ÆTHELWINE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
SWERTBRAND	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
SWARTBRAND	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
GODERE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
LIVEGOD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
OSMUND	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
ULF—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			

notes on the coins, that I think he must have had the latter view in his mind."¹

The late Major Carlyon-Britton was unable to accept Hildebrand's suggestion of a continuous issue of this general type throughout the reign, and adds: "nor do his words '*in continuous use together with the later ones*' admit of the construction that he intended to convey the idea of several intermittent issues of coins of a similar type."² That, however, was exactly what Carlyon-Britton himself suggested in the paper quoted above, where he divides this type into four distinct substantive types, viz. his types I, VII, X, and XIII. On the reverse of coins of type Hildebrand A, the names of the moneyer and mint are separated by the contracted forms M^oO, M^oO, M^oO, MO, M^oON, M^oON, M^oON, ON, &c. The form M^oO is used almost invariably upon the coins of Eadweard the Martyr, on the late coins (with bust) of Eadgar, and also on the early variety (my type I) of Æthelred. All numismatists agree that ON came in at the end of the reign. Carlyon-Britton suggests "as Hildebrand recognized, such a point of custom has some bearing upon the determination of the

¹ "Mr. Parsons' Arrangement of the Coin-types of Æthelred II, A Criticism", *Numis. Chron.*, 1910.

² "The Chronological Sequence of the Types of Eadweard the Martyr and Æthelræd II", *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xvi, 1921-2.

order of the coinages, and it is of particular importance in regard to the separation into distinct types of the several issues which are now classed together as type A of Hildebrand's arrangement". Accordingly Carlyon-Britton's classification of his arrangement of type A rests almost entirely upon the basis of the contracted forms M⁻O, &c. to ON, to the entire exclusion of consideration of the moneyers' names.

The fallacy of this method of arrangement is shown by the list of no less than 31 mints at which, according to Carlyon-Britton, Æthelred's type I (i.e. my type I) "are known to have been struck". As a matter of fact we can produce coins of only twelve mints of this early type, viz. Bedford, Canterbury(?), Chester, Derby, Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Stamford, Tamworth, Torksey, Totnes, and York. This list of 31 mints was apparently compiled by going through *Hildebrand* and selecting those coins which exhibit the early contracted form M⁻O (which was, as a matter of fact, in use throughout the reign), ignoring the important evidence afforded by the moneyers' names and classing them all as type I. The classification is obviously not based upon the coins themselves, the style and workmanship of the dies, &c., for the author says: "This is a matter not easy of accomplishment in the absence of an inspection of the actual coins." The present writer considers that type I can only be identified by examination of the actual coins, or of casts or photographs.

Of Carlyon-Britton's types VII and X the author gives no indication of any difference between those two types beyond saying that type VII is similar to type I, but with a shorter rendering of ANELORVM. That would equally describe some coins of type I. He also says that the reverse legends of his type VII exhibit the forms M.O, M⁻O, and MΩO, but he also includes those forms under type X. Under "Type X" he says: "This issue is of the same general design as types I and VII, and in the absence of an examination of the coins recorded by Hildebrand, it is difficult to define in words which specimens belong to type VII and which to type X!"

With all deference, however, the present writer having carefully examined during the past fifty years several hundreds of specimens of Hildebrand's type A is strongly of opinion that that type should be separated into two substantive types only, viz. (1) type I, issued immediately after Æthelred's accession, and (2) type IX, issued at the end of the reign, *circa* 1014-16. A careful study of the moneyers' names shows that arrangement to be correct. The separating of Hildebrand's type A into four substantive types based upon the use of the contracted forms M⁻O, M⁻ON, ON, &c., and distributed through the reign is unworkable as a basis for arranging the chronological sequence of the coins of *Hildebrand* type A. That is shown quite clearly by section II of the table on the opposite page, and a study of the coins of Hildebrand type A issued from a series of mints is even more convincing.

A recent writer,¹ who accepts Hildebrand's suggestion that his type

¹ *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xxiv, p. 9.

A was in issue right through the reign, suggests that the variety with four additional crosses on the reverse¹ "may have been employed for some reason to distinguish the later coins from the earlier ones". And he adds "It is a widespread variety and by no means uncommon". This variety, however, was apparently struck at only four mints;² thirteen moneyers issued coins of this variety, ten of whom continued coining at the same mints in Canute's reign, five in the reign of Harold I, and two into the reign of Harthacnut. Five of the thirteen moneyers used the form MO, five used ON, two M⁻ON of whom one used both M⁻ON and ON; one used both MO and ON, and one used MΩO. All the foregoing points go to prove that coins of *Hildebrand*, A c and A d (actually one variety) are merely varieties of my type IX, the last type of the reign. Coins of this "widespread" variety being known of only four mints are comparatively rare.

The following varieties of coins of type IX have come under the writer's notice:—

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
167	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆSCMAN MΩO STANF <i>Variety.</i> A pellet beside each arm of the cross.	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3432.
168	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆSCMAN MΩO STANF: <i>Variety.</i> A pellet opposite each limb of the central cross.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 56.]
169	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆSCMAN M ⁻ O STAN ³ <i>Variety.</i> A pellet beside each arm of the cross.	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3431.
170	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆSCPIG ON STANFORD <i>Variety.</i> Small "spur" attached to inner circle.	W. C. Wells.
171	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ÆSPIG MΩO STANFORD <i>Variety.</i> A pellet in each angle of the cross.	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3441.
172	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆSPIG MΩO STANFO	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3440.
173	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ÆSCPIG MO STANFO:	W. C. Wells.

¹ *Hildebrand*, types A c and A d.

² See Nos. 216 and 224, *post*.

³ It is very difficult definitely to allocate this coin without actual examination and it may be of type I, as a moneyer Æscman was coining at Stamford in the reign of Eadgar and of Eadweard the Martyr (see Eadgar Nos. 26-30 and Eadweard the Martyr, Nos. 11-18; also Pl. I, figs. 6 and 13), but Nos. 167 and 168, reading — MΩO STANF, are certainly not of type I, as the character Ω did not appear in the reverse legends prior to type VI (*Hks.* 207; *Hildebrand*, D).

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
174	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL.	✠ ÆSCPIC MO STANFO: ¹	W. C. Wells.
175	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ÆSPIC MO STANFO.	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
176	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ ÆSPIC M'O STANFO	Hildebrand, 3438.
177	✠ EDELRED REX AN	✠ ÆSPIC M'O STANE	Brit. Mus.
178	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ ÆDELPINE ON STANF	Hildebrand, 3444. ²
179	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR	✠ ÆDELPINE ON STANF.	W. C. Wells.
		From same die as Nos. 166 and 180.	
180	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆDELPINE ON STANF.	W. C. Wells.
		From same die as Nos. 166 and 179.	
181	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆDELPINE ON STANF.	Brit. Mus.
		Variety. — above central cross.	
182	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ ÆDELPINE MO STAN.	Brit. Mus.
183	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG Inscription begins behind the head.	✠ ÆDELPINE M-O STA	Hildebrand, 3443.
184	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ ÆDELPINE M'O ST:	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 29.]
		Variety. W in the field, below the central cross. ³	
185	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ ÆDELPINE M'O ST.	Hildebrand, 3442.
		Variety. A retrograde 2 in the field.	
186	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG:	✠ EADPINE MO STANF	W. C. Wells.
187	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ EADPINE M'O STAN	Hildebrand, 3462.
188	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ EADPINE MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3463.
189	✠ ÆDELRED REX AN'E.	✠ EADPINE M'O STAB	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 28.]

¹ Nos. 173 and 174 are duplicate entries.² This may be similar to No. 179.³ See also No. 244 on p. 107, *post*, and the note relating thereto.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
190	✠ EDELRED REX AN	✠ EADPINE M ^o STN	Hildebrand, 3465.
191	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ EDPINE ON STANFORD	Hildebrand, 3468.
192	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ EDPINE ON STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3467.
193	✠ EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ EDPINE ON STANFOR	W. C. Wells.
194	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GOD/EG MO STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3481.
195	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GOD/EG ON STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3482.
196	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GODIEG ON STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3505.
197	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GODIEG ON ZTAFOR	W. C. Wells.
198	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GOD/EG M ^o O STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3480.
199	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANG	✠ GOD/EG M ^o O STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3479.
200	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GODIEG ON ZTANFOD	Hildebrand, 3504.
201	✠ EDELRED REX ANGI	✠ GOD/EG . . O STANFO <i>Variety. Small + in field.</i>	Hildebrand, 3478.
202	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANG: From the same die as No. 206.	✠ GOD/EG M ^o O STANFO <i>Variety. Annulet in field.</i>	W. C. Wells.
203	✠ EDEL R/ED REX ANGLO	✠ GOD/EG M ON STANF	Hildebrand, 3476.
204	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANG	✠ GOD/EG M—O STANF	W. C. Wells.
205	✠ /EDELRED REX ANG	✠ GOD/EG M ^o STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 57.]
206	✠ /EDEL R/ED REX ANG: From the same die as No. 202.	✠ GOD/EG M ^o STAN	W. C. Wells.
207	✠ /EDELRED REX ANG	✠ GOD/EG M ^o STAN	Brit. Mus.
208	(Unrecorded.)	✠ CODEG MO STAN	Montagu sale cat. 23 11. 1895, lot 766.
209	✠ /EDELREDR/ED REX REX ANG	✠ CODELEOF ON STANFI	Roy. Coll., Berlin.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
210	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANG	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3494.
211	✠ EDELREDRED REX ANG	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	W. C. Wells.
212	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANG.	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF.	W. C. Wells. From the same die as No. 213.
213	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANG.	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. From the same die as No. 212.
214	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANG	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3492.
215	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANG.	✠ CODELEOF ON STANF	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
216	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANG.	✠ CODELEOF MΩ STAN ¹	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 58.]
	From the same die as No. 217.	<i>Variety.</i> An additional cross opposite each limb of the central cross.	
217	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANG.	✠ CODELEOF MΩ STAN	W. C. Wells. From the same die as No. 216.
218	✠ /EDELRED REX ANG.	✠ CODELEOF MΩ STAN	Brit. Mus.
219	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANG	✠ CODELEOF MΩ STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3493.
220	✠ /EDELRED REX ANG.	✠ CODEL MΩ STAN <i>Variety.</i> — above the cen- tral cross.	Brit. Mus.
221	✠ /EDELRED/ED REX ANGELO ²	✠ CODERE MΩ STANFO	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3502.
222	Barbarous. ²	✠ CODERE MΩ STANFO	W. C. Wells.

¹ *Hildebrand*, type A, variety c.

² It has been suggested that coins of this period exhibiting barbarous and unintelligible legends on either the obverse or the reverse are foreign or Irish imitations of English coins, a suggestion in which the present writer does not entirely concur. There is, however, much to be said in favour of that suggestion when both obverse and reverse legends are unintelligible.

In relation to the former series it has also been suggested that English dies were taken to Scandinavia, or to Ireland, where they were used in conjunction with locally-made dies. *Hildebrand* (p. 490, No. 96) describes a penny of this type (*Ilks.* 205), of Sihtric III, King of Dublin, 989–1029, the obverse of which reads ✠ NHTRE RE+ and the reverse ✠ CODERE MΩ STANFO. It would appear that these three coins were struck from the same reverse die, which would favour the suggestion that English dies were taken and used

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
223	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODDERE MO STA	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
224	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANL	✠ GODRIC M ^o STANF <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross opposite each limb of central cross. ¹	R. C. Lockett.
225	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODRIC M ^o STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3510.
226	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODRIC M ^o STAN <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross in field.	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3511.
227	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODRIC M ^o STAN <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross in field, opposite the fourth angle of central cross.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 60.]
228	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODRIC M ^o STA: <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross in field, opposite the fourth angle of central cross.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. IV, fig. 59.]
229	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE ON STANF	W. C. Wells.
230	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ GODPINE M ^o STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3519.
231	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M ^o STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3517.
232	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGI	✠ GODPINE ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
233	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ GODPINE M ^o STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3518.
234	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M ^o STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3516.
235	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANG	✠ GODPINE M ^o STA	W. C. Wells.
236	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M ^o STA	W. C. Wells.
237	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M ^o STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3514.

abroad, as it would appear that Godere struck No. 221 at Stamford after which he went to Ireland, still retaining his Stamford reverse die, and took service with Sihtric, when he struck the ✠ NHTRE RE ✠ coin and possibly also No. 222 in the above list.

¹ *Hildebrand*, type A, variety c.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
238	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL	✠ GODPINE M ^o STA	City of London hoard ¹ (Willett.)
239	✠ ÆDELRED REX AN	✠ GODPINE M ^o STA	W. C. Wells.
240	✠ ÆDELRED REX AIC	✠ GODPINE M ^o STA	Hildebrand, 3515.
241	(Unrecorded.)	✠ LEOFPINE MO STANI	Clark sale cat., 1898.
242	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL From the same die as Nos. 243 and 244.	✠ L'EOFPINE M ^o O STAN	W. C. Wells.
243	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL From the same die as Nos. 242 and 244.	✠ LEO'EPINE M ^o O STAN <i>Variety.</i> Pellet in field op- posite second and third angles of central cross.	Brit. Mus. [Pl. IV, fig. 61.]
244	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL From the same die as Nos. 242 and 243.	✠ LEOFRINE M ^o O STAN "W" in field, opposite the lower right-hand angle of central cross ² .	W. C. Wells, (Fig. 30.)
245	✠ ÆDELRED REX AN	✠ LEOFPINE M ^o O STAI	Dudman sale, 15.12.1913.
246	✠ ÆDERED REX AN	✠ LIOFPINE M ^o O STA	Hildebrand, 3534.
247	✠ ÆDELRED REX AN	✠ LIOFPINE M ^o O STA	W. C. Wells, [Pl. V, fig. 62.]
248	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOZ	✠ LIVEGOD MO SIATN ³	Hildebrand, 3535.
249	✠ ÆDELRED REX ANGL ⁴	✠ OSMVND M ^o O STAN	The late A. F. Denning.

¹ "On a Hoard of Saxon Pennies found in the City of London in 1872", by E. H. Willett, *Numis. Chron.*, 1876.

² On p. 379, *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. i, Mr. W. J. Andrew, as editor, referring to this coin, describes the character on the reverse as a Mercian M and adds: "On p. 363 of *A Numismatic History of the reign of Henry I.* Mr. Andrew wrote: 'It follows that all the money struck by the Abbot of Peterborough's moneyer must bear the name of the Stamford mint, and . . . unless the Abbot was prepared to accept the responsibility for money issued before it was under his own control, some mark upon the new money was necessary for identification. . . . This was readily effected by the addition of a small ornament or device to the existing die.' The discovery by Mr. Wells of this coin is direct evidence in support of the above theory, as the letter M obviously stands for Medeshamstede the then name of the Abbey of Peterborough." Mr. Andrew, however, overlooked the fact that the appellation *Medeshamstede* had been abandoned many years prior to the issue of this coin, i.e. circa 1014, the name of the abbey having been changed, in the reign of Eadgar, to *Burh* (see *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, vol. xxii, pp. 50-1). See also No. 184, p. 103, *ante*.

³ See p. 109, *post*.

⁴ While this was in the press the Author was able to compare the two coins. They are from the same dies, No. 250 being the correct reading.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
250	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLX ¹	✠ OSMVND M ^o STAN	W. C. Wells.
251	✠ /EDELRED REX ANG	✠ SEERTEBRAND MO S <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross in field.	Hildebrand, 3540.
252	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR ON STANFO	W. C. Wells.
253	✠ EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR ON STANFO	W. C. Wells.
254	(Unrecorded.)	✠ SPERTCAR ON STANFO	Fountain's plates, Pl. 1, fig. 27.
255	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR ON STANF	Hildebrand, 3554.
256	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR ON STAN	Hildebrand, 3553.
257	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
258	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR MO STAN	W. C. Wells.
259	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3551.
260	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR MO STAN <i>Variety.</i> A pellet opposite fourth angle of central cross.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 63.]
261	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR M ^o STAN <i>Variety.</i> A pellet in field.	Hildebrand, 3549.
262	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGLO	✠ SPERTCAR M ^o ST	Hildebrand, 3548.
263	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ SPERT M ^o STANFO	Hildebrand, 4381.
264	✠ /EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ SPERT M ^o STANF	W. C. Wells.
265	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ SPERT M ^o STANF:	Brit. Mus.
266	✠ /EDELRED REX AN	✠ SPERT M ^o STANF	Hildebrand, 3545.
267	✠ /EDELRED REX ANG	✠ SPERT M ^o STANF <i>Variety.</i> Additional cross in field.	Hildebrand, 3546.

¹ See note 4 on page 107.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
268	✠ EDELRED REX ANGL	✠ DORSTAN M Ω O STA	Hildebrand, 3561.
269	✠ /EDEL[.] EO	✠ VIF[.] ANF	Holmboe ¹ (cut halfpenny?).

The reverse inscription of No. 269, above, may have been a misreading of VIF— for VLF— or other contracted form of *Ulfcetel*, or *Ulfgrim*. Moneyers bearing these names were coining at Lincoln in the reign of Æthelred II and of Canute, and moneyers frequently migrated from Lincoln to Stamford and *vice versa*.

The coin by the moneyer *Livegod*, No. 248 in the foregoing list, may be of type I. The obverse legend as given in *Hildebrand* is ✠ EDELRED REX ANGLOR, which was evidently intended for ✠ EDELRED REX ANGLORX and clearly points to the coin being of type I, and Hildebrand's rendering appears to indicate roughly worked dies such as we frequently find in connexion with coins of type I, especially those emanating from the mints of York, Lincoln, Northampton, and Stamford. The blundered abbreviation for Stamford also points in the same direction.²

Unfortunately the moneyer's name, *Livegod*, does not help in any way. This appears to be the only recorded occurrence of this moneyer's name at any mint at any time during the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, with the exception of a London coin of this reign described by Hildebrand, also of his type A, with a blundered obverse legend, ✠ EÐFRLED REX ANGL. The moneyer's name is given by Hildebrand as LIVFOD, which is doubtless a misreading, or a blundered rendering of *Livegod*. It is difficult also to allocate this coin, but the blundered obverse reading can leave little doubt that it also is of type I.

If we had coins struck by a moneyer who signed himself *Lifgod* we should feel entitled to go somewhat beyond our evidence and assume that *Livegod* = *Lifgod* = *Leofgod*.³ The latter form is one which we find upon coins issued from several mints, not including that of Stamford, in the reign of Æthelred II.

¹ See note 1 on p. 83, *ante*.

² When the war is over and the coins in the Stockholm Royal Cabinet are again available the writer hopes to obtain a cast of *Livegod*'s coin in order to decide to which type it belongs.

³ Cp. *Lifwine* = *Lyfwine* = *Liofwine* = *Leofwine*, on Stamford coins of several reigns.

A NOTE ON THE POST-TREATY NOBLES OF EDWARD III

By C. A. WHITTON

SOME time ago while re-reading Mr. Lawrence's account of the first nobles issued after the rupture of the Treaty of Bretigny in 1369 I was struck by the similarity between two obverse dies illustrated in Plates III. 1 and IV. 1 of the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1933, or as consecutively numbered for Mr. Lawrence's series of articles, Plates XIX. 1 and XX. 1. Closer examination showed the coins to be struck from the same obverse die; in particular each reveals the same peculiarity, an intrusive and unnecessary saltire between the **Æ** and **X** of **ÆX**. The coins are respectively a London noble of the first Post-Treaty issue with **Æ** in the centre of the reverse, and a Calais one with **Q** in that position: in this particular case the **Q** happens to be inverted so that it looks like a **D**.¹

There is, it will be recalled, no flag at the stern of these early Post-Treaty Calais nobles: further they show the fo'c'sle dividing the king's name into two parts, of two letters and four, **ÆD** and **WTRD**; the French title is denoted by the three letters **FRN**, and the dies use the old lettering of the Treaty period. The later Post-Treaty nobles of both London and Calais have the king's name divided three letters and three, **EDW** and **TRD**, by the fo'c'sle; they read **FRTRDQ** and have a new and distinctive lettering: on the Calais coins there is always a flag. With regard to the London specimen of the two nobles which show this die identity, it may be mentioned that Mr. Lawrence has accidentally omitted to describe it in the text. It is somewhat similar to other coins described, but the details are quite clear for all to see. It is, moreover, one of the rare coins with a crescent on the fo'c'sle. The Calais coin is described clearly and confirms the fact that Mr. Lawrence both overlooked the saltire in **ÆX** and omitted to describe the obverse in his London list.

The use of this die at both London and Calais raises a point, perhaps several points, for our consideration. Mr. Lawrence divides the Post-Treaty Calais nobles into nominally three but really two groups; first group I, without a flag, which comprises only the early nobles reading **FRN**, some of which have a crescent on the fo'c'sle, and secondly, group II, coins with a flag, which read **FRTRDQ** and show the new tall lettering. There is also group III, but for our purpose it can be regarded as part of group II. It seems to me that these groups, while remaining substantially the same, might more appositely be described, not as without or with a flag, but as group I, with London obverse dies and old Treaty reverses, group II, true Calais dies and new lettering on obverse and reverse. An advantage of the proposed new description would be that it could be extended to the Post-Treaty London nobles

¹ A better specimen from the same pair of dies is illustrated in *Num. Chron.* 1911, Pl. XXI, 28 [East Raynham Find].

also, which Mr. Lawrence has not thought worth while to divide into groups as he has the corresponding Calais coins. I think they might with advantage be so divided; that is, for instance, group I, old Treaty style with French title added, group II, new style with new lettering. For indeed the difference in general appearance between the two kinds of nobles is most marked.

If this suggestion is acceptable we may perhaps feel ourselves obliged to reconsider the description not only of these Post-Treaty nobles but also of the Calais Treaty nobles which have no flag. Were they struck from genuine Calais dies or merely from London ones made to serve an emergency? And arising out of that, should we look for die-identity between London and Calais nobles during the Treaty period? Is there, moreover, a possibility of similar die-identity in the silver coins? The answers to these questions are that in the silver special Calais obverse dies were not struck, but in the gold they were. Die-identity therefore may be expected, and is found, in the silver but not in the gold.

In the silver there are at London and Calais precisely similar obverses in every denomination, groats, half-groats, and pence, of which Calais coins were struck. It would not be too much to say therefore that no special obverse dies were made for Calais silver but that London ones were used; the special reverse dies, by showing the mint name, were sufficient. The die-identity which is known to exist was brought to my knowledge by Major Blunt, who has two half-groats struck from the same obverse die; one of them shows a London and the other a Calais reverse. There is no reason why other similar coins should not be found.

As regards the gold, however, the case is different. In no case, as Mr. Lawrence has shown, is there a possibility, even when the flag is absent, of confusing obverses during the Treaty period of either nobles or half-nobles of London and Calais; for of the five known issues of such Calais coins, three are peculiar to that mint and not found at London, and the other two, even when they show no flag, differ from the parallel London coins by having trefoil instead of saltire stops about the symbol for **ET**. The quarter-nobles do not afford reliable evidence; they have no certain distinguishing mark of Calais, such as the flag, and in fact the distinction between London and Calais coins is even now a matter of conjecture. Die-identity then in the gold during the Treaty period was unlikely to take place except perhaps through carelessness or a sudden emergency.

But a sudden emergency was just what occurred in the rupture of the Treaty of Bretigny in 1369. Now only was die-identity between London and Calais coins possible or likely. We may, I think, dismiss the possibility of confusion or error. The Mint-Master at London simply had no Calais obverse dies available claiming the French title, which it was very important to do; so he did the best he could and sent his colleague or deputy at Calais some London ones, with instructions to use them with old Treaty reverses where the **α**

in the centre would be enough to furnish the coins with a mint-mark.

This was not the only occasion when an emergency arose and Calais had to make shift with what dies London could send her. When Edward III died the London mint being apparently unable to prepare in time any Calais obverse dies for the noble showing the new king Richard's name, sent his colleague one of Edward's: he managed, however, perhaps by alteration, to send him a reverse die with R in the centre, and a striking of this coin came into the market only the other day. Two or three specimens in fact are known. Later in Richard II's reign the supply of obverse dies for Calais again ran short, for I remember reading in the *Proceedings*¹ of the Royal Numismatic Society that Mr. Lawrence once exhibited before that Society two Richard II nobles, a London and a Calais one, struck from the same obverse die. Again for some reason the London Mint-Master was in a quandary with no true Calais dies at hand. So he had a flag added to a London one and sent it off.

¹ *Num. Chron.* 1931, *Proceedings*, p. 4.

AN EXHIBITION OF COINS OF HENRY VIII

THE coins of Henry VIII have never had all the attention they deserve. They seem so straightforward a series; nevertheless they present to the student numismatist problems of interest. Has anyone ever seen a mule groat of the first coinage between the mint-marks "Pheon", "Castle", and "Portcullis"? The use of Roman letters on both sides of what are believed to be the earliest of the groats and half-groats of the second coinage has still to be explained. The mint-mark "Lis" comes not only early in the series of groats and half-groats of the second coinage, but is found again muled with the "Pheon" at the end of the series.

Dr. Lawrence has suggested that careful study of the groats with mint-mark "Lis" on both sides might make it possible to divide them into two groups, an early one coming immediately after the "Rose", and a later one coming between the "Arrowhead" and "Pheon".

Mr. Lockett's 17 Testoons are remarkable not only for their fine state, which alone makes their reproduction on Plates I and II a notable feature of this issue of our journal, but also because they are all different. The inclusion in the exhibition of four "sovereign" pennies not listed in Brooke is something on which Mr. Lockett is to be congratulated, and indicates that there is still work to be done on this reign.

F. J. W.

E. J. W.

EXHIBITED BY R. C. LOCKETT

HENRY VIII

1. *London Groat*. Altered die of Henry VII.

2. *Canterbury Penny, 2nd issue.* Sovereign type. i.m. uncertain, keylike object. *Obv.* only.

h x D x G x ROST x SIEN x SPIEN x

CIVI TTS QAN TOR W- π at sides of shield. Pl. I, fig. 1.

3. *Canterbury Penny*, 2nd issue. Sovereign type. i.m. *cross fleury*. *Obv.* only.

h ‡ D ∗ G ∗ ROST ∗ SIΘ × SPIΛ

QIVI TTS* + QAN TOR W- π at sides of shield. Pl. I, fig. 2.


4. *Canterbury Penny, 2nd issue.* Sovereign type. i.m. **T** *Obv.* only.

$$h \times D \times G \neq \text{ROST} + \text{SIU} \times \text{SPIK}^*$$

QIVI TTS QAN TOR W- π at sides of shield. Pl. I, fig. 3.

5. *York Penny, 2nd issue.* Sovereign type. i.m. (key).

h * D * G * ROST * SIΘ * SPIA'

QIV ITTS EBO RACI E-U at sides of shield. Forks of cross 

Unknown to Brooke. Pl. I, fig. 4.

2nd coinage. Coins with Roman lettering. i.m. rose.

London Groats.

6. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ DI ꝛ GRA ꝛ REX ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z ꝛ RRA
 POSVI DEV ꝛ ꝛ DIVTOR ꝛ E ꝛ MEV' Half sunflowers in forks.
 Roman letters both sides except M of MEVM.

7. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ DI ꝛ GRA ꝛ REX ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z ꝛ RR
 POSVI ꝛ DEV ꝛ ꝛ DIVTOR E ꝛ MEV' + in forks.
 Roman letters. *Obv.* only.

8. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ DI ꝛ GRA ꝛ REX ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z ꝛ RR
 POSVI DEV ꝛ ꝛ DIVTOR E ꝛ MEV + in forks.
 Roman letters. *Obv.* only. Both obverse and reverse are from different dies to the previous coin.

London Half Groats. Roman lettering. i.m. rose.

9. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ DI ꝛ G ꝛ R ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z ꝛ RRA
 POSVI DEV ꝛ ꝛ DIVTO E ꝛ MEV + in forks.
 Roman letters and i.m. both sides.

10. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ DI ꝛ G ꝛ R ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z ꝛ RRA
 POSVI DEV ꝛ ꝛ DIVTO E ꝛ MEV Nothing in forks.
 Roman letters and i.m. on *Obv.* only.

London Half Groat. Roman lettering. i.m. lis.

11. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ D ꝛ G ꝛ R ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z RR
 POSVI DEV ꝛ ꝛ DIVTO G ꝛ MDV Nothing in forks.
 i.m. *Obv.* only.

Canterbury Half Groats, 2nd coinage. Roman lettering. i.m. uncertain object.

12. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ DI ꝛ G ꝛ R ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z ꝛ RR
 CIVITAS ꝛ ANTOR Nothing in forks. W-ꝛ at sides of shield.
 Roman lettering and i.m. *Obv.* only.

13. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ DI ꝛ G ꝛ R ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z ꝛ RR
 ꝛ CIVITAS ꝛ ꝛ ANTOR Nothing in forks. W-ꝛ at sides of shield.
 Roman lettering and i.m. on *Obv.* only.

14. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ DI ꝛ GRA ꝛ R ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z ꝛ RR
 ꝛ CIVI TTS ꝛ ꝛ AN TOR + Nothing in forks. W-ꝛ at sides of shield.
 Roman lettering and i.m. *Obv.* only. Very unusual with GRA.

15. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ DI ꝛ G ꝛ R ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z ꝛ RR
 CIVI TORꝛ (sic) ANTOR + in forks. W-ꝛ at sides of shield.
 C like reversed D. i.m. *Obv.* only.

16. HENRIC ꝛ VIII ꝛ DI ꝛ G ꝛ R ꝛ AGU ꝛ Z ꝛ RR
 ꝛ CIVI TTS ꝛ ꝛ ANTOR Nothing in forks. W-ꝛ at sides of shield.
 C like reversed D. i.m. *Obv.* only.

17. HENRIC VIII DI G R TGL Z R

QIVI TAS QNTOR

+ in forks. No W-T at sides of shield.

London Groats. 2nd coinage. i.m. pheon on both sides. With Irish title proclaimed May 1544.

18. HENRIC 8 D G TGL RR Z HIB REX

POSVI DEV T DIVTOR E M

+ in forks of cross.

19. HENRIC 8 D G TGL RR Z HIB REX

The details of the king's dress differ slightly.

POSVI DEV T DIVTOR E M

+ in forks of cross.

20. HENRIC 8 D G TGL RR Z HIB REX

POSVI DEV T DIVTOR E M

+ in forks of cross.

Testoons. London Mint. i.m. lis. Obv. and rev.

21. HENRIC VIII DI GRA TGL RRA Z HIB REX

POSVI DEVM T DIVTORIVM M

Roman M's on Rev. Barnes Coll. Pl. I, fig. 5.

22. HENRIC VIII DI GRA TGL RR Z HIB REX

POSVI DEVM T DIVTORIVM M

Roman M's on Rev. Evans Coll. Pl. I, fig. 6.

23. HENRIC VIII DI GRA TGL RRA Z HIB REX

POSVI DEVM T DIVTORIVM M

lis at end of legend as well as at beginning.
Barnes Coll. Pl. I, fig. 7.

i.m. Obv. lis and O. i.m. Rev. uncertain.

24. HENRIC VIII . . . RR T Z HIB REX Small crown.

POSVI DEVM T DIVTORIVM M-VM Large rose.

Roman letters both sides.

Webb Coll. Pl. I, fig. 8.

i.m. Obv. lis and O. Rev. lis and O.

25. HENRIC VIII DI GRA TGL RR Z HIB REX Large crown.

POSVI D-VM T DIVTOREVM M

Small rose.

Roman letters reverse only. Pl. I, fig. 9.

i.m. annulet enclosing pellet.

26. O HENRIC 8 D G TGL RR Z HIB REX

O POSVI DEVM T DIVTORIVM M

Pl. I, fig. 10.

i.m. O Obv. and Rev.

27. HENRIC 8 D G TGL RR Z HIB REX +

POSVI DEVM T DIVTORIVM M

Webb Coll. Pl. I, fig. 11.

i.m. ☉ *Obv.* and *Rev.*

28. HENRIC: 8: D: G: TGL: RR: Z: HIB: HIB: (sic).

POSVI: DEVN: TDIVTORIVM: MEVM:

O on inner circle below M of MEVM. R. Carlyon-Britton Coll.

Pl. I, fig. 12.

i.m. ☉ *Obv.* and *Rev.*

29. HENRIC: 8: D: G: TGL: RR: Z: HIB: REX

POSVI: DEVN: TDIVTORIVM: MEVM

O on inner circle between E and V of MEVM. R. Carlyon-Britton Coll.

Pl. I, fig. 13.

i.m. *Obv.* *lis* and ☉ both sides.

30. HENRIC: 8: D: G: TGL: RR: Z: HIB: REX:

POSVI: DEVN: TDIVTOREVM: MEVM

Webb Coll. Pl. II, fig. 14.

i.m. ☉ both sides.

31. HENRIC: 8: D: G: TGL: RR: HIB: REX

POSVI: DEVN: TDIVTORIVM: MEVM

Hilton Price Coll. Pl. II, fig. 15.

i.m. ☉ both sides.

32. HENRIC: 8: D: G: TGL: RR: Z: HIB: REX

POSVI: DEVN: TDIVTORIVM: MEVM

Dimsdale, Hall, Durrant, Brown, Bergne, Brice, Montagu, Fitch, and R. Carlyon-Britton Coll. Pl. II, fig. 16.

Testoons. Auxiliary London Mints. i.m. E *Obv.*, *Rev.* S

33. HENRIC: 8: D: G: TGL: RR: Z: HIB: REX:

Rev. ❁ ❁ CIVITAS ❁ ❁ LONDON ❁ ❁

Pl. II, fig. 17.

i.m. S *Obv.* *Rev.* E

34. HENRIC: 8: D: G: TGL: RR: Z: HIB: REX:

Rev. ❁ ❁ CIVITAS ❁ ❁ LONDON ❁ ❁

R. Carlyon-Britton Coll. Pl. II, fig. 18.

i.m. S both sides.

35. HENRIC: 8: D: G: AGL: FRA: HIB: REX:

Note the Roman letters including As.

Rev. ❁ ❁ CIVITAS ❁ ❁ LONDON ❁ ❁

Struck under Edward VI. Barnes Coll. Pl. II, fig. 19.

Testoons. Bristol Mint. i.m. W S in monogram *rev.* only.

36. HENRIC: 8: D: G: TGL: RR: Z: HIB: REX:

: W: CIVITAS ❁: : BRISTOLIE

Ornamental lettering, peculiar Hs. Webb Coll.





14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



22

i.m. **W S** in monogram. Rev. only. Pl. II, fig. 20.

37. **hENRIC' 8 • D • G • ANGL' • RRA' Z HIB : REX**
• W' • CIVITAS • : • BRISTOLIA

Ornamental lettering, different **A** in **RRA**. Pl. II, fig. 21.

38. *London Groat, 4th coinage.* i.m. *lis* both sides. Lombardic letters both sides.

• stops. Crescent and pellets in forks of cross. **O** on inner circle under **M** of **MENV**. Cf. Testoons Nos. 28 and 29.

Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin has sent particulars of two gold coins in his possession, illustrations of which appear on Plate II (nos. 22 and 23).

No. 22. Bristol Sovereign of Henry VIII. i.m. **W.S.** monogram, rosette stops.

Obv. **• HENRIC • 8 • DEI • GRA' • AGL' • FRAN • Z • HIB • REX •**

Rev. **• IHS • AVTEM • TRANSIENS • PER MEDIVM • ILLOR' • IBAT**

This coin is listed in Brooke but does not seem to have been illustrated anywhere.

Pl. II, fig. 22.

No. 23. Half-Sovereign of Edward VI. i.m. bow (Durham House).

Obv. **EDWARD • VI • D • G • ANGL • FRA • Z • HIB • REX**

Rev. **• SCVTVM • FIDEI • PROTEGET • EVM**

This coin is not listed in Brooke and is, Mr. Baldwin claims, unpublished.

Pl. II, fig. 23.

NOTES

I. Owing to the difficulty of finding type to correspond with the marks used on the coins, the stops indicated in the lists are not always exactly like the stops on the coins. The reader is therefore referred to the plates.

II. It will be seen on the plates that on the Testoons the King's hair is treated in different styles. On figures 5-13 the side locks are bunched against the King's face, whilst on figures 14-16 they lie closer to the cheeks. Also the spikes of the calyx of the full-blown rose on the reverse vary in position. Compare figure 5 with figure 8.

THE HEAVY COINAGE OF HENRY VI

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO *B.N.J.* VOL. XXIII

PART I

B.N.J., p. 79; reprint, p. 21

Annulet nobles: a new mule (Messrs. Baldwin) with an obverse of Henry V as (b) but reading **hVB**, from the same die as Brooke, *English Coins*, Pl. XXVII, 3, shows a reverse with lis, i.m., the annulet in one spandrel but not the usual fleurs in the others, while an abnormal **Ω** is visible, over stamped, at the end of **ILLIORSV**, (*sic*). These errors suggest a very early die, presumably made by Brandeburgh while still unfamiliar with the proposed modifications in the reverse design and legend of Henry V's so-called Annulet nobles for his successor's coins.

B.N.J., p. 85; reprint, p. 27

Mules, though too numerous for detailed mention in the list of Groats, include a coin with obv. 13, rev. 14 (Annulet-Trefoil).

PART II

B.N.J., p. 229; reprint, p. 25

Reverse of Pinecone-Masle noble no. 26 should read **ΩADIVΩ** not **ΩADIVΩ**.

B.N.J., p. 231; reprint, p. 27

Reverse legend of 30 *a* (Leaf-Masle noble) should show a saltire and not a pinecone after **AVT**.

B.N.J., pp. 234-5; reprint, pp. 30-1

In London Pinecone-Masle groats, after 19 *d* add 19 *e* with reverse as 19 *a* but having no reverse initial mark (C.A.W.).

B.N.J., pp. 236-7; reprint, pp. 32-3

In London groats with obv. Leaf-Masle, rev. Leaf-Trefoil, after 20 *c* insert 20 *c** with new reverse i.m. Cross V, **DEVΩ**‡; ‡**ΩDEVΩ** (Baldwin).

On same page reverses of groats 20 *f* and 22 *c* should read **DEVΩ**‡.

On same page after groat 22 *e* add 22 *f* with rev. of 20 *e* reading **ΩDIVTOR** for **ΩDIVTORΩ** (Baldwin).

B.N.J., pp. 238-9; reprint, pp. 34-5.

In London groats group Trefoil (A) after 34 insert 34* with obv. similar to 34 but without **∴** at the end of the legend, and rev. reading: No. i.m.; **DEVΩ**‡; **DON**∴ (C.A.W.).

B.N.J., pp. 240-1; reprint, pp. 36-7

In London groats group Trefoil (C) before 37 *a* insert 36* thus: Init. Cross III *b* **hENRIC**‡ **DI**∴ **GRN** × **REX**‡ **ΩNGU** × **Σ** **RRΩN**; rev.: No. i.m. **DEVΩ**‡; **DON**∴ (Baldwin). The new obverse legend differs curiously from the others of this group which are all of a uniform type.

B.N.J., p. 242; reprint, p. 38

Calais Rosette-Masle groats 16 *b* and 17 *a*, 17 *b* should read × **Σ** × **RRΩNΩ**.

B.N.J., p. 246; reprint, p. 42

At the top of the page the heading "Pinecone-Masle" should read "Obv., Pinecone-Masle, Rev., Leaf-Trefoil or Trefoil".

Rev. 32 *d* should read "Same die as 31 *a*", and not as shown.

B.N.J., p. 250; reprint, p. 46.

Leaf-Trefoil half-groat no. 23 is now known as a true coin (23*) with reverse as 24 *b* (C.A.W.). This coin, if known to Walters, must have modified his view that its obverse was of the Leaf-Masle issue.

B.N.J., pp. 254-5; reprint, pp. 50-1

In Calais Leaf-Mascle half-groats after 29 *c* (see Addenda on p. 414; reprint, p. 16) add a new coin No. 30 (illustrated below), the last known Calais half-groat (C.A.W.):

Obv. i.m. Cross V **HENRIC** * **DI** * **GR** * **REX** * **ANGL** * **S R**.

Rev. Same die as 29 *a*.

A mascle in the obverse legend of a Leaf-Mascle half-groat is now known both of London and Calais.



PART III

B.N.J., p. 403; reprint, p. 5

Footnote 2 should state that Brooke in *English Coins* intended to include in both London Halfpence and London Farthings Group VIII (Leaf-Pellet), not Group IX (Unmarked issue). Halfpence and farthings of the Unmarked issue are not known.

B.N.J., pp. 434-5; reprint, pp. 36-7

In London Halfpence, Cross-Pellet (B), after 52 *b* insert 52* as 52 but with no stop after **REX** and reverse showing no pellets (Baldwin).

C. A. W.

HALF-SOVEREIGNS AND DOUBLE CROWNS

By F. O. ARNOLD, M.A., M.D.

AFTER reading a paper on the subject of "Crowns" before the Lancashire Numismatic Society, I was suddenly asked by a certain member the following question: "Is not a double crown the same as a half sovereign?"

I should imagine that many numismatists in reply to this question would almost instinctively say at once: "Oh no; they are really quite distinct; although it is true that in modern times—as indeed in more remote times—the actual cash or rather the official currency value of *two* crowns is and always has been the equivalent of a half sovereign." But I am not proposing to complicate the subject-matter of this paper by attempting to discuss the relationship between double crowns and their *silver* equivalents in value. As mentioned later, incidentally, there never have been—as we all know—in existence silver double crown pieces, unless we regard as coming within that category certain exceedingly rare silver half-pound pieces which were produced at some two out of Charles I's various provincial mints during the two civil war years of 1642 and 1643—namely, Shrewsbury and Oxford—though at Shrewsbury they were, in fact, only minted between or during October and December 1642, as that mint was only working during that period.

As I will presently indicate, however, there is a distinction to be noticed between the currency value of a half sovereign and the value of half a sovereign, during certain Tudor periods.

From the aforesaid bald negative assertion one might feel tempted, or inclined, to proceed to elaborate the distinction by pointing out that neither double crowns nor crowns were *ever* minted out of so-called "fine gold", i.e. gold of a standard of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains which was invariably used from the reign of Edward III until 1526. Out of this gold the first sovereigns and, in fact, *ex hypothesi*, all so-called "fine sovereigns" were made.

Gold crowns and double crowns were all made of "crown gold", i.e. gold of 22 carats, though in the most debased mintage years of Henry VIII the caratage fell, for a time, as low as 20 carats.

It is, I think, a remarkable fact that no "fine" half sovereigns were *ever* minted—using the term "fine" in the strict sense of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains, i.e. the purest gold used from Edward III onwards. Upon the precise significance of this fact one can only speculate, though I suggest that it may possibly have some slight bearing upon a point which—with all appropriate diffidence—I tentatively advance hereafter.

As I also hereafter indicate, the period, of course, with which the subject-matter of this paper is concerned is only from the reign of Henry VIII to November 1662, and even during the earlier part of

this period one can only apologetically and qualifiedly suggest that the subject of "double crowns" enters at all, even distantly, upon the horizon.

The crown was first issued in England by Henry VIII in 1526 out of so-called "crown gold", i.e. gold of 22 carats "fineness", there being 2 carats alloy.

But to revert to the point regarding the complete non-existence of "fine" half sovereigns, let us just briefly survey the field and establish the facts.

Sovereigns were first minted by Henry VII in 1489 of gold of standard fineness of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and of 240 grains weight, and of 20s. value, and continued to be so minted more or less throughout his reign, but *no* half sovereigns were ever minted by him.

No fine half sovereigns of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains were minted in Henry VIII's reign, although in the earlier years of his reign sovereigns like those of Henry VII of 240 grains weight and of value of 20s. and later (in 1526 upon the introduction of the so-called "Wolsey coinage") of 22s. 6d. value, and of standard fineness, i.e. of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains gold, *were* minted; and, still later, sovereigns of 200 grains weight and of 20s. value and of 23 carats fineness were minted. But during the *last* years of his reign, when his notorious debasement of the coinage had been fully established and sovereigns were minted out of crown gold of 22 carats, or even as low as of 20 carats and of 192 grains weight, *half* sovereigns of 96 grains weight and of 10s. value, of similar design to the sovereign, *were then* minted; and these last-mentioned coins, and the earlier Edward VI half sovereigns, though they are, of course, *not* actually of fine gold, constitute perhaps the nearest approach to "fine" half sovereigns which can be suggested.

I say this because, unlike the case in later coinages, there was no resemblance *at all* between *these* half sovereigns and the crowns of the same periods, and no one, of course, would think of referring to *these* half sovereigns as double crowns (see the two coins Nos. 1 and 1a, now exhibited) and also because they *were* minted out of the "finest" or highest standard of gold which was, *at the time of their coinage*, being used for the minting of any gold coins at all, and—unlike the half sovereigns of the later Edward VI coinage and the coinage of Elizabeth—they had no *contemporaneous* competitors of greater fineness, though the last-mentioned competitors of Edward and Elizabeth half sovereigns, it is to be noted, were not actually half sovereigns but sovereigns and angels.

In saying, however, that these particular half sovereigns constitute perhaps the nearest approach to "fine" half sovereigns which can be suggested, of course, so much—if not everything—necessarily depends upon the precise meaning to be attached to the word "fine" in relation to sovereigns and half sovereigns.

Undoubtedly, even by the highest authorities, the term "fine" is frequently treated and used, in certain contexts, as being equivalent to, or synonymous with, "standard". Thus Brooke, at pages 182 and

183 of his book on *English Coins*, says: "Both standard and crown gold remained current together from Edward VI's reign until Charles II discarded standard gold, and from that day the gold coinage has always been of 22 carat fineness." (Incidentally, as I mention later on, no "standard" gold coins of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains fineness were *minted* after the 1642 issue of Charles I angels, although they "remained current", as Dr. Brooke says, until the reign of Charles II, and probably for some time after the Restoration: see Miss Farquhar's article in *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xii at p. 114 and Kenyon at p. 169.)

But surely "standard" gold cannot possibly signify anything more or less than the highest *standard* of fineness or caratage of gold used by the mint for its best gold coinage at any particular specified period.

As we know, during the very brief period of Henry III's gold coinage the "standard" was, actually, not 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains, but the full 100 per cent. 24-carat fineness.

In *his* reign, therefore, "standard" or "fine" gold meant, and could *only* mean, something *better* and *finer* than it did from Edward III to Charles II.

But, in the latter years of Henry VIII, gold of 22 carats—and at one time of 20 carats—was absolutely the highest standard of gold employed for minting purposes. During those years was not gold, of that degree of fineness, "standard" gold, and consequently "fine" gold of the period?

Ever since 1662 "standard" gold has been gold of 22-carat fineness, as it is to-day, and sovereigns were minted of it till 1931, when they ceased to be minted at all, because we had "gone off the gold standard"—to use the conventional expression. I understand that, until recently, when the practice was forbidden by law, many wedding rings were made out of 22-carat gold.

Compared with articles manufactured out of 18-carat or 9.675-carat gold, clearly one would say that sovereigns or wedding rings made out of 22-carat gold were made of "fine" gold; since that is the highest or finest standard of gold employed since 1662.

Nevertheless, this latter is only as "fine" as the "crown" gold of Elizabethan and Jacobean times.

If by "fine" is simply and exclusively meant coins minted out of gold of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains fineness, then, of course, these coins, i.e. the late Henry VIII and the early Edward VI half sovereigns, of admittedly only 22 carats or 20 carats fineness, cannot be considered to be any more closely related to fine sovereigns or fine half sovereigns than, for example, the so-called pound sovereigns and half sovereigns of Queen Elizabeth, minted out of crown gold of 22 carats. In passing, it may be mentioned that Brooke does not include in his category of Henry VIII gold coins *any* half sovereigns of debasement down to only 23 carats, though he *does* mention *sovereigns* of 23 carats minted in 1544-5; and Kenyon does not really venture to do so either, but, in referring to the *possible* existence of such half sovereigns of 23 carats hedges by saying "these half sovereigns *all* appear from their mint-

marks to belong to the *later* coinages (i.e. to coinages of only 22 carat gold), *although* there are some that weigh more than 96 grains, the proper weight of those later coinages”.

But, in what might perhaps be termed common numismatic parlance, I think it is not incorrect to say that, bearing in mind the *two* standards of fineness out of which sovereigns in Edward VI's and Queen Elizabeth's reigns were *contemporaneously* minted, the term “fine sovereign” is not infrequently used simply by way of *contrast* to the so-called “pound” sovereign, of 20s. value, made out of crown gold—the “fine” sovereigns of these two monarchs always being of 30s. value, according to Brooke, though Kenyon puts the value of the Edward VI fine sovereign at only 24s.

Similarly, the term “pound” sovereign is frequently used in a context indicative of its being regarded as being synonymous with a sovereign made out of crown gold—as indeed it *is* synonymous, where the coinages of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth are concerned.

But this is *not* the case when we consider the various coinages of Henry VIII. In the coinages of *his* reign such phraseology breaks down.

Thus his earliest sovereigns—like those of his father Henry VII—were of fine gold, i.e. 23 carat $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains standard, but were only of the value of 20s.

This fact may be expressed, in other words, by saying that in Henry VII's reign and in the early years of Henry VIII's reign, the pound sovereign, i.e. the sovereign of the *value* of 20s. or, in other words, of the value of a pound, was minted of *fine* gold of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains standard.

Later, the value of the sovereign made of fine standard gold was raised by Henry VIII to 22s. 6d., and Edward VI and Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth all minted fine gold sovereigns of 30s. in value, though of only the same weight as those of Henry VII and of those of the early years of Henry VIII, namely 240 grains.

Consequently, as I said at the commencement of my remarks, in considering this subject one has to bear in mind that there is a difference between the value of half a sovereign and the currency value of *a* half sovereign.

The former rose to 11s. 3d. and later to 15s., whereas the *latter never* rose above 10s. No half sovereign *piece* in England ever had a greater official currency value than 10s.—when minted—though Charles II artificially raised the currency value of James I—and possibly Elizabeth—half sovereigns which were then 60 years old or more; see Kenyon, at p. 169.

As we know, this previously mentioned type of coin with Henry's name on, but with a youthful face on the obverse and two or three slight alterations in detail, was minted during the very earliest years of Edward VI, and was also subsequently minted, but with Edward's own name inscribed upon it. I exhibit one of the earliest Edward VI half sovereigns with Henry's name upon it.

But in the last three years of his reign Edward VI directed the minting of sovereigns of standard fineness—23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains and of 240 grains weight—these being 30s. in value. These all had an ostrich's head as i.m.

No half sovereigns of this type or fineness were minted, though, simultaneously, sovereigns and half sovereigns of 20s. and 10s. value respectively were minted of crown gold. Queen Mary only minted gold coins of standard fineness—none whatever of crown gold. Consequently, all her sovereigns were fine sovereigns, but no half sovereigns at all were minted during her reign.

Queen Elizabeth's reign was one prolific in gold mintages—both of fine gold and of crown gold. But, whereas half sovereigns of crown gold were minted in abundance—I exhibit four here to-day—no half sovereigns of fine gold were minted, although fine sovereigns of 240 grains in weight and 30s. value were minted.

James I only minted sovereigns and half sovereigns in the first year of his reign, and these were only of crown gold. Sovereigns were not again minted until George III's reign, though the unites of James I, Charles I, and the Commonwealth constituted their analogues or successors.

From 1662 onwards, guineas and their fractional pieces superseded all other types of gold coins, until the re-introduction of the sovereign in 1817.

The crown was first issued in England by Henry VIII in 1526—of 22 carats fineness—as previously stated.

According to the nomenclature employed by Kenyon, Grueber, and Brooke, the double crown was first issued in the reign of James I, from 1604 onwards—except that the *two latter* of the above-mentioned three authors refer to the half laurel, which was minted from 1619 to 1625, simply by that name and *not* as the “double crown”. It is, of course, unnecessary for me to say that, from the reign of Henry VIII until, and including, the first two years of the reign of Charles II—but excepting the reign of Queen Mary—gold crowns were issued. During the same reigns and periods silver crowns were also issued, excepting that silver crowns were not issued in Henry VIII's reign, but were first minted in the year 1551, both at the Tower and at Southwark, in Edward VI's reign, and also excepting that, during the first two years of Charles II's reign—the only years of his reign, as just previously stated, in which gold crowns were minted—no silver crowns, but only silver *half* crowns, were minted; and these two years, of course, are the years of his “hammered coinage”. The *double* crown continued to be minted until 1662, like the gold crown, and ceased to be minted in November of that year, like all other hammered coins, gold *or* silver. Never at any time, before, during, or after, the above-mentioned period of the reigns of Henry VIII to Charles II were there minted silver double crowns—subject to the possibly requisite solitary exceptions referred to at the commencement of this paper, namely, the very rare half pound silver pieces minted during

an exceedingly brief period by Charles I at two of the provincial mints set up by him, namely, those at Shrewsbury and Oxford. These rare pieces, however, were not originally designated otherwise than as "half pounds" and have, ordinarily, been so designated ever since.

At the same time, the design and inscriptions of these interesting last-mentioned coins resemble those on the corresponding Shrewsbury and Oxford Charles I pound and crown pieces just as closely as the design and inscriptions of the Queen Elizabeth gold half pound pieces resemble those of the Queen Elizabeth gold pound sovereigns and gold crowns. Consequently, if consistency and logic are to be observed, it must perforce be contended or admitted that the remarks which are presently to be made in regard to the latter should, or must, be equally applicable in regard to these silver Charles I half pound pieces; so that, if the argument or reasoning which I am endeavouring to advance are soundly based, then even these very rare Charles I pieces should be, or could correctly be, called double crowns.

In passing, one may perhaps be allowed to mention the fact—doubtless known to all members present—that the last English gold coins minted of fine gold of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains were the Charles I angels of 1641 and 1642 with the triangle in circle mint-mark, and that, ever since then, the standard has been 22 carats instead of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Kenyon and Grueber give 1634 as the latest year for the issue of Charles I angels, but Brooke—inferentially—gives 1642, and, as previously indicated, fairly recent research has shown that, until the seizure of the Tower Mint in August 1642, Charles I angels were minted: see *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xii at pages 114 and 115.

From this brief survey, one significant fact emerges, as previously stated, namely, that the half sovereign was only minted out of crown gold.

The next point which I wish to make is that there never was in contemporaneous competition, or existence, a simultaneous mintage of half sovereigns *and* of separate and different or distinguishable *double* crowns.

My final point which I will—however imperfectly and inadequately—endeavour to establish is that, on grounds of strict logical consistency, it is very difficult, if not completely impossible, to support and vindicate some of the classifying nomenclature current amongst numismatists in reference not only to half sovereigns and double crowns but also in reference to crowns and half crowns, and quarter sovereigns and half quarter sovereigns respectively.

As previously stated or indicated, Grueber in his *Coins of Great Britain and Ireland* quite definitely says that "double-crowns" were first issued in the reign of James I—at least that is how I read him—and I know of no writer, certainly not Brooke or Oman, who uses the term in reference to any coin prior to James I's mintage.

Why should this be? If you will compare coins Nos. 7 and 8—namely, the Elizabethan so-called half pound sovereign and the

Elizabethan gold crown—both with i.m. tun, and in every single respect identical, except as to size and weight and value—by what criterion can it possibly be suggested, logically, that in the case of *these* two coins, at any rate, it is inaccurate or a misdescription to refer to the half sovereign, on the one hand, as a double crown, or to the crown, on the other hand, as a quarter sovereign?

In regard to the latter half of this question, I should be immensely interested if learned numismatists, present or absent, could clearly indicate the reason or reasons why the late Dr. Brooke in his classic text-book on *English Coins* should refer to “half sovereigns” and “quarter sovereigns” and “half quarter sovereigns” of his (Dr. Brooke’s) “Second Period” Edward VI coinage 1549–50, but revert to the nomenclature of “half sovereign, crown, and half crown”, when enumerating the coins comprising Edward VI’s coinage (as classified by Dr. Brooke) of the “Third Period”—1550–3.

In the case of *both* of these coinages, he says the *half sovereign* is “*similar*” to the quarter sovereign and the half quarter sovereign, on the one hand, and to the crown and half crown on the other hand.

Then, again, by what reasoning or criterion do Grueber and Dr. Brooke refer to the “half sovereign” and the “half laurel” of James I but *not* to the “half unite”? This latter coin they call the “double crown”, as do Kenyon and most other writers. *But* Kenyon, unlike Grueber and Brooke, speaks of the “half laurel *or* double crown”. Surely, Kenyon in this instance is abundantly justified. If not, why not?

Incidentally, I may say that, when I acquired my coin No. 9—exhibited to-day—an Elizabethan crown with i.m. O, being, of course, therefore of 1600 mintage, it had with it a descriptive ticket, penned by a numismatist of no mean attainments, bearing upon it the words “Elizabethan quarter sovereign”.

But, of course, as previously indicated, I recognize to the full that it would be altogether inappropriate to call any Henry VIII half sovereign a double crown, or, on the other hand, to refer to a Henry VIII crown or half crown as a quarter or half quarter sovereign. The types of Henry VIII sovereigns and half sovereigns were completely different from either the crown of the Rose or the crown of the Double Rose—cf. my coins Nos. 1 and 1 *a*.

For the same reason, it would be also quite inappropriate to do so in regard to the first period coinage of Edward VI, 1547–9, which so closely resembled, both as to its half sovereigns *and* crowns, the last coinage of Henry VIII—see my coin No. 1—but I regret that I cannot exhibit an early crown of Edward VI.

In the light of these various factors and considerations, which I have, however imperfectly and discursively, endeavoured to collate, I suggest that sufficient reasons can be adduced for contending that, to the question “Is not a double crown the same as half a sovereign”, a simple reply in the affirmative or negative is inadequate.

OBITUARY

LORD GRANTLEY

THERE has been a tendency over the last half-century for numismatics to become more and more a field for the specialist. While this has produced more scientific classification, it has necessarily restricted the interchange of ideas between numismatists, since only those fortunate enough to be able to devote their whole time to the subject could hope to have the necessary specialized knowledge of more than a comparatively limited series.

Lord Grantley was a collector, not perhaps of the eighteenth-century school which sought almost exclusively, but often uncritically, for classical rarities, but rather of the nineteenth-century school, which was prepared to collect with discernment anything of rarity and interest over a wide area of space and time. His period was the Middle Ages, and the whole of Europe was his field. As a collector of such wide interests he was known to a large circle of numismatists both at home and abroad. Wherever one's interests lay, whether in the Merovingian series or in the coins of the Crusaders or in those of this country, a visit to Weeke was sure to be productive of some fresh information.

On continental coins of the Middle Ages, of which he had a large collection, Lord Grantley was recognized as the leading authority in this country. He also had an extensive collection of English coins, especially rich in the Anglo-Saxon series. Among the latter was the Crondall hoard of one hundred gold coins of the Merovingian period, some of which were undoubtedly struck in this country, and in this respect his collection was unique. In addition he had a number of Anglo-Saxon antiquities which were dispersed a year or two before his death.

It was no doubt through his mother, who was the daughter of Signor Federigo of the island of Capri, Italy, that he acquired his love of the Continent. He travelled there extensively and sought out coins wherever he went. My first meeting with him was on the *quais* in Paris some twenty-five years ago where he was poring over a bowl of feudal deniers. Imbued with modern ideas, I asked him in what series he specialized, to which he replied: "I don't specialize: I collect everything". That was his outlook on numismatics, but it did not in any way detract from his sense of the fine and the rare.

His "finds" on these continental trips were many, but the most thrilling must have been the purchase very many years ago in Rome, for a few pounds, of a gold penny of Henry III. He always regretted having parted with this great rarity to the late Sir John Evans.

Lord Grantley was born in Florence in 1855 and was educated at Harrow and Dresden. He joined the Royal Numismatic Society in 1891 and was one of its oldest members. Of the British Numismatic

Society he was a founder member and vice-president. In spite of his wide knowledge, he was not an extensive contributor to numismatic publications. His published papers include:

British Numismatic Journal

Vol. VIII. "St. Cuthbert's 'Pennies'."

Vol. XV. "On a penny attributed to Patrick, Earl of Salisbury, in the reign of Stephen."

Vol. XVI. "On a penny of the armed-figure type with the title **C O M** in the reign of Stephen."

Vol. XIV (with L. A. Lawrence, Esq.). "On a find of French deniers and English pennies of the twelfth century."

Numismatic Chronicle

1897. "North Humberian Coinage of A.D. 758-808."

1900. "Some unique Anglo-Saxon Coins."

1923. "Some late coins of the Crusaders."

Many numismatists will have enjoyed the hospitality of Lord and Lady Grantley at Weeke Manor, Winchester, and will have happy memories of visits there. He was courteous and considerate to young collectors, and it is as a great gentleman and collector of the old school that he will be remembered and missed by his many numismatic friends.

C. E. B.

MR. C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is engaged in compiling information on a comprehensive scale about Anglo-Saxon gold coinage of the seventh and eighth centuries. He would be very grateful for details of any such pieces in the cabinets of private collectors, so that his investigation may be as wide as possible.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

(See Vol. XXIII, p. 367, for list of past Presidents. MR. H. W. TAFFS remained President in 1942 and 1943.)

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL

(See Vol. XXIII, p. 368, for the complete list of recipients. MR. C. A. WHITTON, B.A., was the recipient in 1941.)

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1942

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ORDINARY MEETING

28 JANUARY 1942

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Major P. G. W. Diggle was proposed as a candidate for election.

Exhibition

MR. TAFFS exhibited two unpublished colonial tokens, and a touch-piece of James III.

Paper

The Secretary read a paper by MR. C. A. WHITTON entitled "The Latin of English Coin-legends". He raised many interesting points about the various types of errors in legends, and showed how much might be learnt from the study of place-names on English coins.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 FEBRUARY 1942

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Major P. G. W. Diggle was elected a member.

Mr. N. B. Mason, of Toronto, was proposed as a candidate for election.

Exhibitions

CAPTAIN BLUNT exhibited coins in illustration of his paper, including electrotypes of Henry III's gold penny and of Edward III's florin series.

MR. A. E. BAGNALL showed a fine series of gold coins of Elizabeth.

MR. TAFFS showed a brockage of a Victoria half-sovereign.

Paper

CAPTAIN BLUNT read a paper on "The Age of Silver and the Revival of Gold Coinage in Western Europe". This paper provided a most interesting review of the period, covering ground not often touched by this Society.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 MARCH 1942

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. N. B. Mason was elected a member.

Exhibitions

MR. TAFFS exhibited a Victoria Cross acquired by the Red Cross Sale Committee, awarded to Sergt. J. McGuire, 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, 1857.

MR. WINSTANLEY exhibited coins and casts, the latter the property of Mr. Carlyon-Britton, in illustration of the paper.

Paper

MR. WINSTANLEY read a paper by MR. RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON on "Some Early Silver Coins of Henry VII". This paper, dealing in detail with the early or "open-crown" groats of Henry VII, is printed in vol. xxiv, p. 28.

ORDINARY MEETING

22 APRIL 1942

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair**Exhibitions*

MR. TAFFS showed a penny of Eadgar type VI of Stamford, variety of type, and numerous Saxon pennies to illustrate the paper.

MR. C. A. WHITTON exhibited a Francis and Mary Scottish testoon 1560; and a French 10 centimes of Napoleon III with name altered to Boulanger and dated 1888.

MR. H. H. KING showed a Harold II penny of Chichester, var. with no fillets to crown, and a William I penny, type I, of Hastings, with unusual crown.

DR. A. N. BRUSHFIELD showed an African Chief's Medal (Uganda), Jamieson, pp. 106-7, and an example of Chinese card money.

MR. A. E. BAGNALL showed a fine series of early Saxon pennies of Offa, Cynethrith, and others.

Paper

MR. T. M. TURNER read a paper on "The King's Crown on Saxon and Norman Coins", making comparisons with contemporary seals and manuscript illustrations.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 MAY 1942

DR. A. N. BRUSHFIELD, *Vice-President, in the Chair*

Mr. Taffs was unable to be present owing to illness, and all present expressed their sympathy.

Exhibitions

By DR. E. C. CARTER: 4 halfcrowns of Edward VI:

(1) 1552, with galloping horse; small R in legends.

(2) and (3) Similar, 1553.

(4) 1553, with horse walking.

Nos. 1 and 2 from the same obv. die, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 all from the same rev. die.

By DR. A. N. BRUSHFIELD: Six bracteates of Henry the Lion, 1139-95, from Bruun sale (1925).

By MR. T. M. TURNER: A French jetton of the Lamb and Flag type, found in Colchester. *Obv.* **AVE MARITV MATE** *Rev.* **GETES STNS RALUR.**

By MR. A. C. STRAND: A plated silver Turkish medallion.

Paper

MR. D. F. ALLEN read a paper on Irish bracteates, based on examination of two hoards, the Scrabo Hill hoard and the Fermoy hoard, from Ireland. This coinage formed a twelfth-century link between the Hiberno-Danish series and the later series of English origin. Illustration was provided by a photograph and some excellent drawings.

ORDINARY MEETING

24 JUNE 1942

MR. A. E. BAGNALL, *Vice-President, in the Chair*

Mr. Taffs was again unable to be present owing to illness.

Mr. R. P. V. Brettell, of Paignton, was named as a candidate for election.

Exhibitions

DR. BRUSHFIELD: Three trays of Brunswick coins to illustrate his paper, including fine multiple thalers, and examples from George I to Ernst Augustus and Victoria.

DR. ARNOLD: Notes, vouchers, and coins of the Isle of Man internment camps: Metropole Internment Camp, Douglas, Peveril Camp, Peel, and Onchan Camp, near Douglas; the first two lent by the Lancashire Numismatic Society.

Also a second issue hammered halfcrown of Charles II.

MR. BAGNALL: Ten aurei of Claudius, Titus, Nero, Julius Caesar, Domitian, Augustus, Vespasian, Caracalla, and Geta.

MR. WHITTON (*per* Mr. Winstanley): A Calais half-noble of Richard II which had been lent to him for exhibition to the Society, and believed by him to be earlier than any other Richard II Calais half-noble yet published.

Obv. RIC [over EDW ?] [TRD * D * G * R] EX * ANGL * † * R * [double-struck]. DRS * HIB * † * R.

This unpublished reading includes the early (i.e. Edwardian) sign † for ET.

MR. TURNER: A Henry VI leaf-trefoil groat with hair, crown, and face all out of position on the die (cf. Shirley-Fox, *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. vi); and an Edward I penny of class IX of York with blundered reverse.

Paper

DR. A. N. BRUSHFIELD read a paper on "The Coinage of the later Hanoverian Kings", dealing with the subject in great detail, and showing numerous specimens in illustration.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 OCTOBER 1942

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. R. P. V. Brettell was elected a member.

Mr. O. Theobald, of Maidenhead, was named as a candidate for election.

A letter from Mr. J. O. Manton was read, in which he discussed an attribution of a Buckinghamshire token by Mr. W. C. Wells, and suggested an alternative attribution.

Exhibition

DR. ARNOLD showed a series of fine gold coins to illustrate his paper.

Paper

DR. F. O. ARNOLD read a paper entitled "Half-sovereigns and Double Crowns", which is printed in this volume.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

30 NOVEMBER 1942

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. O. Theobald was elected a member.

The name of the following candidate for election was read: Mr. Norman Griffiths, of Tunstall.

The Council's recommendations for Officers and Council for 1943 were duly elected.

The Treasurer's and Council's Reports were read and approved.

The Council's Report

(30 November 1942)

The Council has the honour to present its thirty-eighth annual report. The membership of the Society has shown a slight increase, and the Council welcomes the following new members:

Dr. E. Burstal.

Major P. G. W. Diggle.

N. B. Mason, Esq.

R. P. V. Brettell, Esq.

O. Theobald, Esq.

The Council regrets to record the death of Sir Raymond Boileau: he was the husband of Ethel Boileau, the writer, who died shortly before him; also the resignations of Miss D. M. Stott, and of Newcastle-on-Tyne and Brooklyn Libraries.

The Council has endeavoured to maintain activities as in previous war years. Despite the difficulties of research, members have responded nobly to requests for papers. Attendance at meetings has been small, but it is the Council's policy to offer members in every way the same facilities as before.

The Council greatly regrets that Mr. C. A. Whitton is unable, owing to illness, to remain as Director at present: to him the Council extends its sympathy and gratitude for his enthusiastic and untiring work in connexion with the *Journal*. In his place the Society is pleased to welcome Mr. E. J. Winstanley. The other officers remain unchanged, and the Council offers to them its grateful thanks, especially to Mr. Taffs for his untiring work as President.

The Society's thanks are due to Miss Farquhar, Mr. Bagnall, and Dr. Carter for generous donations to the Society. (The Society's accounts for 1941 and 1942 are appended.) Thanks are due to Mr. Lockett and Mr. King for acting as auditors.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1941

EXPENDITURE

1940									
£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	
2	3	10	Printing and Stationery	.	.	5	2	0	
3	7	4	Postages	.	.	6	6	3	
55	0	0	Expenses of Meetings, Rent	.	.	59	3	0	
7	15	10	Sundry Expenses	.	.	7	9	3	
436	3	9	Expenditure on account of <i>Journal</i>	.	.				
			Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure transferred to General Purposes Fund	.	.	110	7	9	
<u>£504 10 9</u>						<u>£188 8 3</u>			

INCOME

1940									
£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	£ s. d.
			Subscriptions received for 1941	.		82	8	6	
142	5	6	Subscriptions in arrear received during year	.	.	7	7	0	
									89 15 6
			Legacy from late Dr. Penfold	.	.				50 0 0
			Donations:						
			A. E. Bagnall, Esq.	.	.	3	3	0	
			Miss Farquhar	.	.	1	1	0	
11	19	3	Dr. E. C. Carter	.	.	1	1	0	
									5 5 0
46	13	0	Interest received	.	.				43 7 9
1	6	0	Sale of Back Volumes	.	.				
302	7	0	Balance	.	.				
<u>£504 10 9</u>									<u>£188 8 3</u>

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1941

LIABILITIES

1940	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
2 2 0				Subscriptions received in advance .				2	2	0
35 17 0				Subscriptions compounded . . .				31	13	0
12 5 4				Sundry Creditors and outstanding Charges				26	16	7
				<i>J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund:</i>						
				Capital Account	161	16	2			
177 12 1				Income Account	21	12	7			
								183	8	9
				<i>General Purposes Fund:</i>						
				Balance as at 31 Oct., 1940. .	1,041	18	0			
1,041 18 0				Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for year				110	7	9
								1,152	5	9
<u>£1,269 14 5</u>								<u>£1,396 6 1</u>		

ASSETS

1940	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
				Investments at cost or book value:			
				£321. 14s. 6d. 4 per cent. Consolidated Stock	250	0	0
764 14 11				£935. 18s. 0d. 2½ per cent. Consolidated Stock	514	14	11
				(Market value 31 Oct. 1941 £1,134. 1s. 2d.)			
				<i>J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund:</i>			
161 16 2				£166. 14s. 11d. India 3½ per cent. Stock			161 16 2
				(Market value 31 Oct. 1941 £165. 18s. 3d.)			
151 12 5				Library at cost			151 12 5
10 7 6				Furniture at cost			10 7 6
				Cash at Bank and in hand:			
				Post Office Savings Bank	208	1	2
181 3 5				Current Account	99	13	11
							307 15 1
<u>£1,269 14 5</u>							<u>£1,396 6 1</u>

We beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear at 31 October 1940. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

On behalf of the Society:
R. CYRIL LOCKETT } *Hon. Auditors*
HORACE H. KING }

4 November 1942.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1941

EXPENDITURE

1940									
£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	
2	3	10	Printing and Stationery	.	.	5	2	0	
3	7	4	Postages	.	.	6	6	3	
55	0	0	Expenses of Meetings, Rent	.	.	59	3	0	
7	15	10	Sundry Expenses	.	.	7	9	3	
436	3	9	Expenditure on account of <i>Journal</i>	.	.				
			Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure transferred to General Purposes Fund	.	.	110	7	9	
<hr/>						<hr/>			
£504 10 9						£188 8 3			
<hr/>						<hr/>			

INCOME

1940									
£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.	£ s. d.
			Subscriptions received for 1941	.	.	82	8	6	
142	5	6	Subscriptions in arrear received during year	.	.	7	7	0	
						<hr/>			89 15 6
			Legacy from late Dr. Penfold	.	.				50 0 0
			Donations:						
			A. E. Bagnall, Esq.	.	.	3	3	0	
			Miss Farquhar	.	.	1	1	0	
11	19	3	Dr. E. C. Carter	.	.	1	1	0	
						<hr/>			5 5 0
46	13	0	Interest received	.	.				43 7 9
1	6	0	Sale of Back Volumes	.	.				
302	7	0	Balance	.	.				
<hr/>						<hr/>			£188 8 3
£504 10 9						<hr/>			
<hr/>						<hr/>			

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1941

LIABILITIES

1940							
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	
2	2	0	Subscriptions received in advance . . .		2	2	0
35	17	0	Subscriptions compounded . . .		31	13	0
12	5	4	Sundry Creditors and outstanding Charges . . .		26	16	7
<i>J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund:</i>							
			Capital Account . . .	161	16	2	
177	12	1	Income Account . . .	21	12	7	
				<hr/>			
					183	8	9
<i>General Purposes Fund:</i>							
			Balance as at 31 Oct., 1940. . .	1,041	18	0	
1,041	18	0	Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for year . . .	110	7	9	
				<hr/>			
					1,152	5	9
<hr/>				<hr/>			
£1,269 14 5				£1,396 6 1			

ASSETS

1940	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
				Investments at cost or book value:						
				£321. 14s. 6d. 4 per cent. Con-						
				solidated Stock	250	0	0			
764	14	11		£935. 18s. 0d. 2½ per cent. Con-						
				solidated Stock	514	14	11			
				(Market value 31 Oct. 1941				764	14	11
				£1,134. 1s. 2d.)						
				<i>J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund:</i>						
161	16	2		£166. 14s. 11d. India 3½ per cent.						
				Stock				161	16	2
				(Market value 31 Oct. 1941						
				£165. 18s. 3d.)						
151	12	5		Library at cost				151	12	5
10	7	6		Furniture at cost				10	7	6
				Cash at Bank and in hand:						
				Post Office Savings Bank	208	1	2			
181	3	5		Current Account	99	13	11			
								307	15	1
								£1,396	6	1
£1,269	14	5								

We beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear at 31 October 1940. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

On behalf of the Society:
R. CYRIL LOCKETT } *Hon. Auditors*
HORACE H. KING }

4 November 1942.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1942

EXPENDITURE

[illegible]

INCOME

[illegible]

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1942

[illegible]

We beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLET, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

On behalf of the Society:

R. CYRIL LOCKETT } *Hon. Auditors*
HORACE H. KING }

1 January 1943.

LISTS OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ON 30 NOVEMBER 1943

ROYAL MEMBERS

HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

In Alphabetical Order

HIS MAJESTY CHRISTIAN X, KING OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.
HER MAJESTY ALEXANDRINE, QUEEN OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.
HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII, KING OF NORWAY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.
HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV, KING OF SWEDEN.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCESS OF SWEDEN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN AMELIA.

HONORARY MEMBERS

In Order of Election

1905 VERNON HORACE RENDALL, ESQ., B.A., Manica House, Devon Road,
Bordon, Hants.
1943 SIR CHARLES W. C. OMAN, K.B.E., M.A., LL.D., Frewin Hall, Oxford.

MEMBERS

*The sign * signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

1904 ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. M. Fraser, Esq., Librarian,
Aberdeen.
1907 ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, W. Douglas Simpson, Esq.,
D.Litt., Librarian, Aberdeen.
1938 ACWORTH, REV. R. W. H., Glovers, Kennington, Ashford, Kent.
1935 ALLEN, DEREK F., ESQ., B.A., Peacock Corner, Slade End, Walling-
ford, Berks.
1906 AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, 156th Street, West of Broad-
way, New York, U.S.A.
1906 ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, Burlington House,
Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
1915 ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, Edinburgh, A. J. H.
Edwards, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary.
1935 ARNOLD, FREDERICK OCTAVIUS, ESQ., M.A., M.D., Wynthorpe, Hale,
Cheshire.
1936 ASSHETON, JOHN R., ESQ., Jourdelay's Place, Eton College, Windsor.
1922 BAGNALL, A. E., ESQ., 3 Castle Road, Shipley, Yorkshire.
1938 BALDWIN, A. H., ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.

- 1923 BALDWIN, A. H. F., ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.
- 1941 BALDWIN, W. V. R., ESQ., Mont Dore, West Hill, High Salvington, Worthing, Sussex.
- 1941 BARKER, W. COLE, ESQ., P.O. Box 327, Daytona Beach, Florida.
- 1937 BARKER, RAYMOND TURNER, ESQ., New Place, Welwyn, Herts.
- 1904 *BARNARD, ROBERT, ESQ., M.E., C.C.M., M.I.M.E., c/o Messrs. Gibson and Weldon, 27 Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.
- 1903 BAYLEY, ARTHUR R., ESQ., B.A., Cotford, Graham Road, Malvern.
- 1909 BELFAST CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, J. B. Goldsborough, Esq., Chief Librarian, Belfast, Ireland.
- 1904 BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, John Shepherd, Esq., Librarian, Central Library, Birkenhead.
- 1906 BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, H. M. Cashmore, Esq., The City Librarian, Birmingham, 1.
- 1933 BLUNT, MAJOR CHRISTOPHER E., 77 Elizabeth St., London, S.W. 1.
- 1907 BOOTLE CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, THE, C. H. Hunt, Esq., Librarian and Curator, Oriel Road, Bootle, Lancashire.
- 1930 BOURNEMOUTH PUBLIC LIBRARIES, D. S. Young, Esq., Borough Librarian, Central Library, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1933 *BRIGGS, L. CABOT, ESQ., Abbot, Proctor & Payne, 115 Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1927 BROWNING, WILLIAM HENRY, ESQ., Chiddingstone, Bexley Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
- 1915 BRUSHFIELD, A. N., ESQ., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 31 Kyoto Court, Nyewood Lane, Bognor Regis.
- 1926 *BURR, CHARLES W., ESQ., M.D., 1918 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
- 1942 BURSTAL, E., ESQ., M.A., M.D., 46 Lansdowne Road, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1911 BURTON, FRANK ERNEST, ESQ., J.P., F.S.A., Orston Hall, Nottinghamshire.
- 1903 CALDECOTT, J. B., ESQ., Amberley, near Arundel, Sussex.
- 1908 CAMBRIDGE, THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, Louis C. G. Clarke, Esq., Director.
- 1904 CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, A. F. Schofield, Esq., Librarian.
- 1922 *CAMPBELL, MRS. ROBERT JAMES, Hotel Weylin, 40 East 54th Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1904 CARDIFF FREE LIBRARIES, Harry Farr, Esq., Librarian.
- 1911 CARLYON-BRITTON, RAYMOND C., ESQ., 38 Westgate, Chichester.
- 1906 CARTER, ERNEST CHRISTISON, ESQ., M.D., M.R.C.P., "The Elms", Forty Hill, Enfield, Middlesex.
- 1929 CHECKLEY, JAMES FREDERICK HAYSELDEN, ESQ., 26 Maple Avenue, Maidstone, Kent.
- 1914 CHRISTOPHER, RICHARD THORNEY, ESQ., West View, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire.
- 1904 COLCHESTER, THE CORPORATION OF, The Curator, Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester.
- 1909 CONGRESS, LIBRARY OF, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., Herbert Putnam, Esq., Litt.D., LL.D., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1909 CORNWALL, THE ROYAL INSTITUTION COUNTY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY OF TRURO, George Penrose, Esq., Curator.
- 1931 CROSS, ALBERT PEARL, ESQ., 35 St. Martin's Court, London, W.C. 2.
- 1933 DAKERS, CAPT. COLIN H., M.C., F.S.A.Scot.

- 1930 DAKERS, HUGH J., ESQ., M.A., 3 Belmont Hill, St. Albans, Herts.
- 1937 DAVIDSON, JAMES, ESQ., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.P.E., F.S.A.Scot., 41 Brampton Grove, Hendon, London, N.W. 4.
- 1930 DAY, WALTER HANKS, ESQ., Carlyle House, Maidstone, Kent.
- 1926 DENTON, ARTHUR R., ESQ., "The Myrtles", Haygate Road, Wellington, Shropshire.
- 1904 DERBY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, THE, F. Williamson, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., Director, Derby.
- 1942 DIGGLE, MAJOR P. G. W., La Quinta, Harfield Road, Kenilworth, Cape Town, S. Africa.
- 1904 DUBLIN, THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, R. Lloyd Praeger, Esq., O.B.E., Librarian, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin, Eire.
- 1904 EDINBURGH, THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, H. W. Meikle, Esq., The Keeper, Edinburgh.
- 1903 EDINBURGH, PUBLIC LIBRARY, Ernest A. Savage, Esq., Principal Librarian.
- 1913 EDINBURGH, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, F. C. Nicholson, Esq., M.A., Librarian.
- 1903 EVANS, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. L., "Corris", Wash Hill, Newbury, Berks.
- 1903 FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN, F.R.HIST.S., Whiteways, Chudleigh, Devon.
- 1929 FERGUSON, F. S., ESQ., c/o Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.
- 1903 FORRER, L., ESQ., Helvetia, 14 Homefield Road, Bromley, Kent.
- 1906 GARDNER, WILLOUGHBY, ESQ., D.SC., F.S.A., Y Berlfa, Deganwy, North Wales.
- 1903 GLASGOW, THE MITCHELL LIBRARY, S. A. Pitt, Esq., Librarian, North Street, Glasgow.
- 1903 GLENDINING, D., ESQ., 7 Argyll Street, London, W. 1.
- 1938 GRANT, COLONEL M. H., 18 Victoria Grove, London, W. 8.
- 1943 GRIFFITHS, NORMAN, ESQ., Trinity Chambers, 27 High Street, Tunstall.
- 1919 HALL, HENRY PLATT, ESQ., Pentreheylin Hall, Llanymynech, Montgomeryshire.
- 1909 HARVARD UNIVERSITY, LIBRARY OF, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., William C. Lane, Esq., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Limited, 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1930 HEREFORD PUBLIC LIBRARY, THE, F. C. Morgan, Esq., Librarian, Broad Street, Hereford.
- 1933 HILL, SIR NORMAN, BART., Green Place, Stockbridge, Hampshire.
- 1906 *HUNTINGDON, ARCHER MILTON, ESQ., 1 East 89th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1939 HURLEY, W., ESQ., 37 Thaxted Road, New Eltham, S.E. 9.
- 1939 JACKSON, C. A., ESQ., 7 Rylestone Grove, Stoke Bishop, Bristol, 9.
- 1938 JONES, F. ELMORE, ESQ., 228 Nether Street, London, N. 3.
- 1937 KENNY, LAWRENCE AMBERTON, ESQ., Shamrock, Ivy Lane, Whitstable, Kent.
- 1909 KING, HORACE HERBERT, ESQ., M.A., Brookside, North Chapel, Petworth, Sussex.

- 1938 KING, PATRICK, ESQ., Oak Apple Cottage, High Street Green, Chiddingfold, Surrey.
- 1903 LAWRENCE, L. A., ESQ., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., 44 Belsize Square, London, N.W. 3.
- 1904 LEE, ERNEST HARRY, ESQ., 71 Upper Parliament Street, Nottingham.
- 1904 LEEDS PUBLIC FREE LIBRARIES, THE, R. J. Gordon, Esq., Chief Librarian, Central Free Public Library, Leeds.
- 1905 LEICESTER, THE MUNICIPAL LIBRARIES OF, C. V. Kirkby, Esq., Librarian, Leicester.
- 1904 LEIGH PUBLIC LIBRARY, J. D. Gifford, Esq., Librarian, Leigh, Lancashire.
- 1933 LINGFORD, HERBERT M., ESQ., Cotherstone, Barnard Castle, Co. Durham.
- 1905 LOCKETT, RICHARD CYRIL, ESQ., J.P., F.S.A., 58 Cadogan Place, London, S.W. 1.
- 1922 LONDON LIBRARY, THE, 14 St. James's Square, London, S.W. 1, Sir C. T. Hagberg Wright, LL.D., Chief Librarian.
- 1933 LONDON LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF, Senate House, Bloomsbury, W.C. 1. Reginald Rye, Esq., M.A., Goldsmiths' Librarian.
- 1921 LONERGAN, P., ESQ., 15 Larchfield Street, Darlington.
- 1930 MABBOTT, THOMAS OLLIVE, ESQ., PH.D., 56 East 87th Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1904 MANCHESTER, THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, T. H. Guppy, Esq., M.A., Librarian, Manchester.
- 1903 MANCHESTER PUBLIC FREE LIBRARY, Charles Nowell, Esq., F.L.A., Chief Librarian.
- 1903 MANTON, J. O., ESQ., A.R.HIST.S., 49 Bourtonville, Buckingham.
- 1920 *MAPLES, ASHLEY K., ESQ., Navenby, Burnham, Overy Staithe, Norfolk.
- 1942 MASON, NORMAN B., ESQ., 24 Wellington Street E., Toronto 2, Ont., Canada.
- 1905 MEHL, B. MAX, ESQ., Fort Worth, Texas, U.S.A.
- 1924 *MERRITT, FERRIS P., ESQ., 25 West 43rd Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1921 MICHIGAN, THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF, U.S.A., c/o Hy. Sotheran & Co., 43 Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
- 1932 MITCHELL, DAVID DEWAR, ESQ., 18 Craneford Way, Twickenham, Middlesex.
- 1939 MULLER, F., ESQ., L.D.S., 46 Station Road, Blackpool, S.S.
- 1927 NAPIER, DUNCAN SCOTT, ESQ., 3 Marchhall Road, Edinburgh.
- 1921 NEVIN, J., ESQ., 136 Musters Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.
- 1916 NEW SOUTH WALES, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, Sydney, Australia, c/o Messrs. Truslove and Hanson, Limited, 153 Oxford Street, London, W. 1.
- 1904 NEW YORK LIBRARY, THE, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1909 NEW YORK, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, William Clifford, Esq., Librarian, c/o Bernard A. Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.
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- 1930 NORWICH CASTLE MUSEUM, THE, Norwich, Norfolk.
- 1919 NOTTINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, THE, Walter A. Briscoe, Esq., City Librarian, The Central Public Library, Sherwood Street, Nottingham.

- 1909 *OKE, ALFRED WILLIAM, ESQ., B.A., LL.M., F.S.A., F.G.S., 25 Denmark Villas, Hove, Sussex.
- 1904 OLDHAM, THE FREE LIBRARY COMMITTEE, W. H. Berry, Esq., Librarian, Oldham, Lancs.
- 1922 OXFORD, THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.
- 1904 OXFORD, THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.
- 1938 PAGET, CAPT. H. E. G., M.A., 122 Richmond Park Road, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1903 PARSONS, H. ALEXANDER, ESQ., Charmandean, Towncourt Crescent, Pett's Wood, Kent.
- 1909 PHILADELPHIA, THE FREE LIBRARY OF, F. H. Price, Esq., Librarian, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
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- 1926 READING PUBLIC LIBRARIES, W. H. Greenhough, Esq., Chief Librarian.
- 1903 *REYNOLDS, H. M., ESQ., Silver Birches, Kirkley Park Road, South Lowestoft.
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- 1926 SEABY, HERBERT ALLEN, ESQ., 65 Great Portland Street, London, W. 1.
- 1933 SELLWOOD, R. H., ESQ., 9 Bartholomew Street, Newbury, Berks.
- 1941 SIMPSON, S., ESQ., Spitchwick Manor, Poundsgate, Newton Abbott.
- 1938 SMITH, A. G. H., ESQ., Hazelden Farm, Tonbridge, Kent.
- 1908 SMITH, ELLIOTT, ESQ., Grand Avenue and Beach Street, Newburgh, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1908 SOUTH AUSTRALIA, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, c/o The Agent-General for Australia, British Industries House, Marble Arch, London, W. 1.
- 1940 SOUTHEY, CAPT. R. G., Langhurst House, Chiddingfold, Surrey.
- 1941 SPINK, DAVID, F., ESQ., 5 King Street, London, S.W. 1.
- 1937 STRAND, ALISTER CARMICHAEL, ESQ., 14 Lismore Road, South Croydon, Surrey.
- 1941 STUART, F. C., ESQ., Fourwinds, Broadway, Duffield, Derbyshire.
- 1903 TAFFS, HERBERT, W., ESQ., M.B.E., 109 Footscray Road, Eltham, London, S.E. 9.
- 1942 THEOBALD, O., ESQ., 59 High Street, Maidenhead, Berks.
- 1943 THOMPSON, J. CLIFFORD, ESQ., 16 King George V Avenue, King's Lynn, Norfolk.
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- 1923 WALES, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, Cardiff, Sir Cyril Fox, Ph.D., F.S.A., Director, Department of Archaeology.
- 1918 WALLACE, WILLIAM GREENELL, ESQ., 61, East Avenue, Bournemouth.
- 1941 WASLEY, T. L., ESQ., Hisao, 91 Harvey Lane, Norwich.
- 1938 WATERFIELD, P. G., ESQ., Buckerell House, Honiton, Devon

- 1903 WELLS, WILLIAM C., ESQ., c/o Mr. J. Reed, Barrows Road, Cheddar, Somerset.
- 1937 WHITTON, C. A., ESQ., B.A., 31 Mount Pleasant, Newcastle, Staffs.
- 1906 WINCHESTER, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, F. W. C. Pepper, Esq., F.L.A., City Librarian.
- 1939 WINSTANLEY, EDGAR J., ESQ., L.D.S., 32 Belsize Grove, London, N.W. 3.
- 1939 WINTER, E. C., ESQ., "Winton", Eastwich Drive, Great Bookham, Surrey.
- 1937 WRIGHTSON, ANTHONY G., ESQ., 20 Brunswick Gdns., London, W. 8.
- 1909 YALE UNIVERSITY, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Limited, 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1930 YORKSHIRE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, THE, Dr. Walter E. Collinge, F.S.A., Keeper, The Yorkshire Museum, York.

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THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Temporary address :

c/o THE HON. SECRETARY, MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY,
32 BELSIZE GROVE, LONDON, N.W. 3

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The Society's Journal is issued annually, and members will be provided at suitable intervals with binding-cases.

THE STAMFORD AND PETERBOROUGH MINTS

By WILLIAM C. WELLS

(Continued from vol. xxiv, p. 109)

CANUTE, A.D. 1016-35

CANUTE, called the Great, was the younger son of Sweyn, King of Denmark, and Sigrid, widow of Eric the Victorious, King of Sweden. In his charters and upon his coins his name is written Cnut, and sometimes in his charters Knuð. He is said to have urged his father to the invasion of England in 1013.¹ He sailed with his father and with him landed at Sandwich and thence went to Gainsborough, where Sweyn received the submission of all the Danish part of England, including the Danish *burh* of Stamford. He attacked London, where he was repulsed. He then marched to Wallingford and thence to Bath, where the ealdormen and thegns of the west made peace with him. The submission of all Wessex completed the conquest of England and Sweyn was acknowledged "full king",² but no coins appear to have been issued in his name.

Sweyn died in February 1014. Florence of Worcester records a story which was believed by a majority of the English of the period, namely, that Sweyn hated the memory of St. Eadmund and scoffed at his reputation for sanctity. That at Gainsborough, as he was on horseback, surrounded by his army, St. Eadmund appeared to him and advanced upon him. Sweyn called for help, but the saint pierced him with his spear, he fell from his horse and died that night. A variant of the story is that Sweyn desecrated the tomb of St. Eadmund at St. Edmundsbury, and that the saint arose from his tomb and smote Sweyn with a fatal illness. The gifts which Canute afterwards made to St. Eadmund's monastery seems to indicate that he shared the common belief that his father's death was due to the vengeance of St. Eadmund. Sweyn's son Harold succeeded him in Denmark and the Danish fleet chose Canute to be King of England. Æthelred returned to England in the early part of 1014, and having organized a large force, met Canute in Lindsey and forced him and his army to flee. Canute then returned to Denmark.

In 1015 Canute organized a fresh army and a splendid fleet, and Earl Thurkil promised to join him with his ships. Canute again landed at Sandwich and thence he sailed westward and harried Dorset, Wiltshire, and Somerset, and before the end of the year all Wessex had submitted to him. In the early part of 1016 Canute passed through

¹ *Enc. Emmæ*, i. 3.

² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sub anno 1013.

the midlands, thence by Stamford and Nottingham to York. Æthelred was now dead and Canute sailed to Southampton where, at a meeting of the Witan, he was chosen king. Meanwhile Eadmund, called Ironside, son of Æthelred, was chosen by the Londoners as king.

Eadmund organized a considerable force to oppose Canute. After several engagements the struggle ended in the battle of Assandune, probably Ashington in Essex, where, after a fierce battle lasting the whole day and part of the night, the English gave way and retreated. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says that "all the flower of the English race was destroyed".

Canute followed Eadmund to Gloucestershire, where they made terms. The two kings met on the island of Alney in the Severn, when the kingdom was divided, Eadmund taking the government of Wessex and Canute became king of the northern half of the country. Eadmund died a few weeks later, November 1016, and Canute was then formally chosen king of all England.

A considerable quantity of English coin must have found its way to Scandinavia by way of taxation, for Hildebrand describes no less than 3,904 coins of Canute, of which 150 emanated from the Stamford Mint.

In the early part of Canute's reign, probably during the first year of his reign as sole king, before the country had become settled and before Canute and his advisers could give their attention to the question of the coinage and decide upon a type for a general issue, dies were made and supplied to a few mints, and coins were struck from them. These coins were, apart from the name of Canute which was substituted for that of Æthelred, exact copies of coins of the last three substantive types of the latter reign, viz. *Hawkins*, 207, 203, and 205 respectively. It has been suggested that these coins constituted an unauthorized issue, a suggestion which the present writer feels unable to accept, especially in view of the "mule" coins combining the obverse, or reverse, of these alleged "unauthorized" coins with the obverse, or reverse, of Canute's first substantive type which, in the present writer's opinion at least, shows that they were issued officially and from authorized mints.

These "unauthorized" coins, of various types, are too few in number and issued from too few mints¹ to be considered separate substantive types. They appear to constitute a provisional coinage issued by the authority of some responsible fiscal body. In point of date it seems probable that, so far as the Stamford mint is concerned, the following coin is the earliest of these debatable pieces:

Obverse. Bust to left in chain armour and wearing radiate helmet, &c., similar to Æthelred II, type *Hawkins*, 203 (see Fig. 25, *ante*).

Reverse. Quadrilateral ornament with incurved sides, &c., similar to Æthelred II, type *Hawkins*, 203 (see Fig. 25, *ante*).

¹ Bath, Lincoln, Norwich, Oxford, Rochester, Stamford, Shrewsbury, and York.

Hawkins, type III (*Silver Coins*, 1887 edition, p. 154); *Hildebrand*, type C.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
1	✠ CNVT REX	✠ ÐVRVLF ON STANF	Sale by Sotheby and Wilkinson, in 1862. Present location of the coin unknown.

The foregoing appears to be, with the exception of a roughly executed copy, struck on a square flan, illustrated in *Hildebrand*, Pl. VI, type C, the only known coin of this type bearing the name of Canute. It appeared in a sale at Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson's rooms in 1862, but I have been unsuccessful in my endeavour to trace its present location.

Of the accuracy of the above description there can be little doubt, as the coin was examined by Samuel Sharp at the time of the sale. Many years ago I was accorded the privilege of looking through Sharp's notes for his paper on the Stamford Mint.¹ These notes included one of the above coin, which appeared to have been made at the time of the sale and from which I culled the foregoing description. This is the earliest Stamford coin upon which the name of the moneyer *Thurulf* appears.

The next Stamford coin in chronological sequence is somewhat later in point of date than that previously described. It is one of the "mule" pieces mentioned above, combining the obverse of one of the "unauthorized" coins with the reverse of a coin of Canute's first substantive type. The specimen described by *Hildebrand* was found in Sweden.

The coin in question may be described as follows:

Obverse. Draped and filleted bust of the king to left, &c., similar to Æthelred II, type *Hawkins*, 205 (see Figs. 28–30, *ante*).

Reverse. Over a quatrefoil with pellet at apex of each cusp, long cross voided, &c., similar to Canute's first substantive type (see Fig. 31).

British Museum Catalogue, type IV, *var. a*; *Ruding*, Pl. XXIII, fig. 8, but bust filleted instead of crowned; *Hildebrand*, type E, *var. g*.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
2	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ CΛ/PLIN/ ² MO Σ/TAN ³	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3243. Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 859. = Montagu Coll., lot 37, 11.5.96.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1869.

² The transverse lines indicate where, on the obverse, the legend is intersected by the king's bust, and on the reverse where the legend is intersected by the arms of the cross.

³ In *Hildebrand* there is no attempt to differentiate between the various forms of A—A, Λ, Ἀ, Ἀ, &c.; in quoting from *Hildebrand*, the present writer invariably uses the simple form Λ.

The reverse of this coin appears to have been struck from the same die as a coin in my collection, no. 18 on page 150 (see Fig. 31). This "mule" piece is the earliest Stamford coin upon which the name of the moneyer *Capelin* appears. In the reign of Æthelred II a moneyer Thorulf, Thurulf, was coining at York and at Leicester.¹ Moneyers were frequently interchanged between the mints of York, Lincoln, and Stamford, and it is probable that Thurulf was brought from York or from Leicester—the former for preference—to work at the Stamford Mint at the time that coin no. 1, above, was issued. In the circumstances it would be anticipated that Thurulf would continue his coining activities into Canute's first substantive type (*Hks.* 212; *Hildebrand*, E), but no Stamford coin of that type by the moneyer Thurulf has been recorded; his name, however, reappears upon Stamford coins of Canute, types II and III, Harold I, types I and II, Harthacnut, type II, and of Eadweard the Confessor, type VII (*Hks.* 221; *Hildebrand*, D), after which his name disappears from our coinage.

Thurulf's name appears upon Lincoln coins of Canute, type IV (*Hks.* 209; *Hildebrand*, I); after striking types II and III at Stamford, Thurulf appears to have gone temporarily to the Lincoln Mint, where he struck type IV, subsequently returning to Stamford in time to issue coins of Harold's first type.

Prior to the reign of Æthelred II we have coins of Eadred and of Eadwig struck by a moneyer Thurulf, or Theorulf, without mint-name and, according to the *British Museum Catalogue*, upon coins of Eadweard the Martyr, but no mint is given.



FIG. 31

TYPE I ("Quatrefoil" type)

Obverse. Crowned and draped bust of the king to left, within quatrefoil,² with or without pellet inside each cusp. Around, inscription, which commences sometimes at the top of the coin and sometimes at the bottom.³ The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse. On a quatrefoil,² with pellet at apex of each cusp, long

¹ See *Hildebrand*, p. 65, nos. 942-5 and 954-7; also p. 85, nos. 1592-6, where the latter are erroneously allocated to Chester.

² The quatrefoils on the obverse and reverse vary in form; on some specimens the angles are acutely arched; on others very slightly so that the quatrefoil closely approaches the form of a circle, compare Pl. V, figs. 64-5, 67-8, with Pl. V, fig. 66.

³ In the subjoined list of coin readings of Canute's type I, the inscription commences at the *bottom* of the coin, unless stated to the contrary.

cross voided, extending to the edge of the coin and terminating in three crescents, the cross breaking the inscription into four sections. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Hawkins, 212; *British Museum Catalogue*, type VIII; *Ruding*, Pl. XXIII, figs. 7-14, 16-17; *Hildebrand*, type E; *Brooke*, Pl. XVI, fig. 12; *Oman*, Pl. XI, fig. 8.

The coins show that in this type the Stamford Mint employed the large number of twenty or possibly twenty-one moneyers, viz. Ælfwine, Æscman, Alfwi, Brand, Brunstan, Capelin, Eadwine, Færgim, Godeleof, Godric, Godwine, Leofden, Leofsige, Leofwine, Morulf, Oswold, Swartbrand or Swertbrand, Swert, Thurstan, Wulfisige; also Swerterold, the latter being possibly a die-sinker's blunder for "Swertbrand". Of the foregoing, Æscman, Eadwine, Godeleof, Godric, Godwine, Leofwine, Swartbrand, Swert, and Thurstan were coining at the Stamford Mint in the last type of Æthelred II.



FIG. 32



FIG. 33



FIG. 34

The following varieties of Stamford coins of type I have been recorded:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
3	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ AL/FPI•/MO Σ/TAN	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
4	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ AL/FPI•/MO Σ/TAN	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 32.]
5	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ AL/EPI/MO Σ/TAN	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 849. ¹
6	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ ÆSC/MAN/M'O Σ/TAN	Brit. Mus.

¹ See note to no. 88, *post*.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
7	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ /ES/CMΛ/N MO/ ΣΤΛ	W. C. Wells.
8	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ /ESCMAN MO ΣΤΛ <i>Variety.</i> ✠ in one quarter.	Hildebrand, 3227.
9	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ ES•/CMΛ/N M'O/ ΣΤΑΝ	W. C. Wells.
10	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ BRAND MO ΣΤΑΝ ¹	Hildebrand, 3233.
11	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ BRAND MO ΣΤΑΝ ¹	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
12	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ BR/AND / MO Σ/TAN	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 33.]
13	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV:	✠ BRAND MO ΣΤΑΝ ¹	Barrowby hoard. ²
14	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ BRV/NΣΤΛ/N M'O /ΣΤΛ:	W. C. Wells.
15	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ BR/VNS/TAN/ΣAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 64.]
16	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ BR/VNS/TANM/O ΣΤ	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 65.]
17	✠ CNVT REX ANGLOR	✠ BRVNΣΤΑΝ MO ΣΤ	W. Webster.
18	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ CΛ/PLIN / MO Σ/TAN	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 31.]
19	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ C•ΛPLIN MO ΣΤΑΝ	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
20	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ CΛ/PELI/N MO/ ΣΤΛ	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, ³ no. 851.
21	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ CAPELIN MO ΣΤΛ	Hildebrand, 3240.
22	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ CAPELIN MO ΖΤΛ	Hildebrand, 3241.
23	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ CΛ/PELI/N MO/ ΣΤΛ ⁴ Large oval pellet in the second quarter.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 66.]

¹ Nos. 10-13 were probably struck from the same reverse die.

² In 1871 or 1872 there was turned up at, or near, Barrowby, near Grantham, Lincolnshire, the shin-bone of an ox, broken at each end, and stopped with clay: it was filled with Anglo-Saxon pennies. From fear of the law relating to "treasure trove", all particulars as to exact place of finding, number of coins found, reigns represented, &c., were jealously concealed, and the find dispersed without expert examination and unrecorded. Samuel Sharp, however, succeeded in securing the shin-bone itself and fourteen of the coins contained in the find, viz. two pennies of Æthelred II and twelve of Canute, all of the Stamford Mint.

³ See note to no. 88, *post*.

⁴ This large pellet was added after the coin was struck; there is a concavity in the corresponding position on the obverse. See Pl. V, fig. 66. See also nos. 32 and 72, *post*. This may be from the same die as Nos. 20-1 *ante*, but after the large pellet was struck into it.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
24	✠ CNVT REX ANGLOR	✠ CA/PELI/N MO/ STA	W. Webster.
25	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ CAPELIN MO ST	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
26	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ EADPINE M'O STA	Hildebrand, 3245.
27	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ F/E·/RER/IM·M/O STA	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
28	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ GO/DELE/OF MO / STA·	W. C. Wells.
29	✠ CNVT REX ANGLOR	✠ GO/DELO/F M'O / STA	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 853. ¹
30	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ GO/DELE/OF M/O ST·	W. C. Wells.
31	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ GO/DELE/OF M'O ST	W. C. Wells.
32	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV Legend commences over the king's head.	✠ GO/DELE/OE M:O ST· Large oval pellet in second quarter. ²	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 34.]
33	(Unrecorded.)	✠ GODLEOF MO STA	Clark sale cat., 1898.
34	✠ CNVT REX ANGLOR	✠ GO/DLE/OF M/ SAN	W. C. Wells.
35	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ GO/DRIC/M'O S/T·A·N	W. C. Wells.
36	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ GO/DRI/C M'O/ STA·	Brit. Mus.
37	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ GO/DRI/C MO/STA	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 854. ¹
38	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ GO/DRI/C MO/ ST·A·	W. C. Wells.
39	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ GODRIC ON STAN	W. Webster.
40	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ GODRIC MO STA	Hildebrand, 3260.
41	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ GODPINE MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3274.
42	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ GODPNE MO STAN	Hildebrand, 3282.
43	✠ CNVT REX ANGELOI	✠ GODPINE M STAN	Holmboe. ³

¹ See note to no. 88, *post*.

² See also nos. 23, *ante*, and 72, *post*, and note to the former.

³ *Munter fra Milderhalderen, funde ved Egerfund*, Christiania, 1836, being a description of 1,500 coins (725 of which are Anglo-Saxon) found in Norway in February of that year.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
44	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ GO/DPIN/E MO/ STA:	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 855.
45	✠ CNVT REX ANGLOR <i>Variety.</i> Pellet in lowest fold of the king's robe.	✠ GODPINE MO STA	S. Sharp. (Ex Barrowby hoard.)
46	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ GODPINE M ^{CO} STA:	Brit. Mus.
47	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ GO/DPN/E M ^{CO} / STA:	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 67.]
48	✠ CNVT REX ANGELOI	✠ GO/DPI/NE M/ STA	W. C. Wells.
49	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ GO/DPIN/E MO/ STA:	Brit. Mus.
50	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ GO/DPIN/E MO/ STA:	Brit. Mus.
51	✠ CNVT REX ANGELO	✠ GO/DPN/E MO/ STA	Brit. Mus.
52	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ GO/DPIN/E M ^{CO} / STA:	W. C. Wells.
53	✠ CNVT REX ANGELO	✠ GODPINE M STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3268.
54	✠ CNVT REX ANGLOR	✠ GODPINE MO STA	Barrowby hoard. ²
55	✠ CNVT REX ANGELO	✠ GO/DPIN/E MO/ STA	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
56	✠ CNVT REX ANGELO	✠ GO/DPI/NE M/STA	Holmboe. ³
57		✠ LEOFDEN ON STA	?
58	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM:	✠ LEOFSIGE M ^{CO} STA	Barrowby hoard. ²
59	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ LEOFSIGE M ^{CO} STA	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
60	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM:	✠ LE/OFSI/GE M ^{CO} / STA	W. C. Wells.
61	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM:	✠ LE/OFSI/GE M/O ST:	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 68.]
62	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ LEOFPINE M ^{CO} ST	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3306.
63	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ MORVLF MO STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 3326.

¹ See note 2 to no. 2, *ante*.² See note to no. 13, *ante*.³ *Munter fra Milderhalderen, funde ved Egerfund*, Christiania, 1836, being a description of 1,500 coins (725 of which are Anglo-Saxon) found in Norway in February of that year.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
64	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ MORVLF MO STA	Hildebrand, 3325.
65	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ MORVLF MO STA	Hildebrand, 3324.
66	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ MORVLF MO STA	Hildebrand, 3323.
67	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ MO/RW:/F MO:/ STAN	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 857. ¹
68	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV:	✠ OSPOLD MO STAN	Holmboe. ²
69	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ OSPOLD MO STA	Hildebrand, 3342.
70	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ OZPOLÐ MO STA	Hildebrand, 3345.
71	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ SVARTBR/VD STA	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
72	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM From the same die as no. 73.	✠ SP/ERTB/RAN/D STA From the same die as nos. 73-4. <i>Variety.</i> Large oval pellet in the <i>second</i> quarter. ³	S. Sharp. (Ex Barrowby hoard.)
73	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM From the same die as no. 72.	✠ SP/ERTB/RAN/D STA From the same die as nos. 72-4. <i>Variety.</i> Large oval pellet in the <i>fourth</i> quarter. ³	W. C. Wells.
74	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ SP/ERTB/RAN/D STA From the same die as nos. 72 and 73.	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 858. ¹
75	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ SP/ERTB/RAN/D STA	R. C. Lockett.
76	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ SPERTEROLD ⁴ O STAN	Upsala, Sweden.
77	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ SP/ERT/M'O S/TANF	Brit. Mus.
78	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ ÐV/RST/AN M/O ST	Hildebrand, 3348.
79	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVI	✠ ÐV/RST/AN M/O ST.	W. C. Wells.

¹ See note to no. 88, *post*.² See note to no. 56, *ante*.³ See notes to nos. 23 and 32, *ante*, also Pl. V, fig. 66.⁴ Possibly a misreading of SPERTBRAND.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
80	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ ÐV/RST/AN M/O ST.	Fitzwilliam Mus., Camb.
81	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV	✠ ÐVRSTAN MO STAI	Hildebrand, 3349.
82	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ PVLFSICE MO STA	Hildebrand, 3368.

TYPE I, variety *a*

Obverse. Draped bust of the king to left, within quatrefoil, &c., as type I, but a diademed bust¹ substituted for the crowned bust.

Reverse. On a quatrefoil with a pellet at apex of each cusp, long cross voided, extending to the edge of the coin, &c., as type I.

British Museum Catalogue, type VIII, variety *d*; *Ruding*, Pl. xxii, fig. 6; *Hildebrand*, type E, variety *d*.

The following varieties of this rare sub-type have been noted:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
83	✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM	✠ CODELEOF MO STA	S. Sharp.
84	✠ CNVT RE+ ANGLORV	✠ LODPINE MO STA.	Brit. Mus.

Coins of this sub-type are rare from whatever mint they may have emanated, and the two specimens described above are the only ones of the Stamford Mint that have come under the author's notice.



FIG. 35



FIG. 36

TYPE II ("Pointed helmet" type)

Obverse. Draped bust of the king to left, descending to the edge of the coin and wearing pointed helmet; in front, trefoil headed sceptre. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription, commencing above the king's head and broken by the bust. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

¹ This has also been described as "a helmeted instead of a crowned bust".

Reverse. Short cross voided, limbs united at base by two circles; in centre, pellet; in each angle, broken annulet enclosing pellet. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Hawkins, 213; *British Museum Catalogue*, type XIV; *Ruding*, Pl. xxxiii, figs. 19-20; *Hildebrand*, type G; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, fig. 13; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 9.

The known moneyers who were coining at Stamford in this type number sixteen, viz. Ædwerd, Ædwine, Ægisman, Æthethstan, Capelin, Godwine, Gonwine, Leofric, Leofwine, Leofwold, Morulf, Oswerd, Oswold, Thurstan, and Thurulf, of whom Ædwine or Eadwine, Capelin, Godwine, Leofwine, Morulf, Oswold, and Thurstan continued coining from type I.

The following varieties of Stamford coins of type II have been noted:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
85	✠ CNVT R/EX ANG	✠ ÆDPRD ON STANFO	Brit. Mus.
86	✠ CNV/T R·E·CX ƿ	✠ EDPINE ON STANFO	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 864. ¹
87	✠ CNVT / REX ANG	✠ ÆDPINE ON STAN	Brit. Mus.
88	✠ CNVT / REX AN	✠ ÆDPINE ON STAN	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 860. ¹
89	✠ CNVT / REX AI	✠ ÆDPINE ON STAN Pellet on inner circle in first and fourth quarters.	W. C. Wells.
90	✠ CNVT / RECX A	✠ ÆGISMAN ON STAN	<i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1935, p. 44.
91	✠ CNVT / RECX AN	✠ ÆISMAN ON STANFO	W. C. Wells.
92	✠ CNVT / RECX ƿ	✠ ÆISMAN ON STANFO	Brit. Mus.
93	✠ CNV/T R·E·CX ƿ:	✠ ÆÐEÐSTAN MO STAN	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
94	✠ CNV/T R·E·CX ƿ	✠ ÆÐEÐSTAN MO STAN Pellet in the first quarter.	The late P. Carlyon- Britton.
95	✠ CNVT / R·E·CX AN	✠ CÆPELIN ON STANF Small pellet in the third quarter.	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 35.]
96	✠ CNV/T R·E·CX ƿ	✠ CƿALIN ON STANFO:	W. C. Wells.

¹ *L. E. Bruuns Mont og Medaille Samling*, 1928, being a catalogue of 19,600 Danish and other coins, including 1,650 Anglo-Saxon coins, bequeathed by the late L. E. Bruun to the Royal Collection, Copenhagen.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
97	(Unrecorded.)	✠ GODPINE MO STANF:	<i>Num. Circ.</i> , March, 1893.
98	✠ CNVT ▼ ● EX ANE	✠ GODPNE ON STAN	Brunn Coll., Copenhagen, no. 866.
99	✠ CNVT / RECX 𐌹 ▶ :	✠ GODPINE ON STAN:	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
100	✠ CNV: / T RECX 𐌹:	✠ EOPDINE ON STAN:	W. C. Wells.
101	✠ CNVT / RECX 𐌹:	✠ GONPINE ON STANCI ¹ [Fig. 36.]	W. C. Wells.
102	✠ CNV · T: / RECX 𐌹	✠ L · EOFRIC ON STANF <i>Variety.</i> Pellet on inner circle in the fourth quar- ter.	W. C. Wells.
103	✠ CNV / T REX 𐌹N	✠ LEOFRIC ON STANF:	W. C. Wells.
104	✠ CNVT REC+ 𐌹	✠ LEOFRIC MO STAN	W. C. Wells.
105	✠ CNVT / R · ECX 𐌹:	✠ LEOFRIC MO STAN	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 867.
106	✠ CNVT: / EX 𐌹NE	✠ LEOFREE MO STANFOI	W. C. Wells.
107	✠ CNVT: / EX 𐌹NE	✠ LEOFREE HO STANFO	Brit. Mus.
108	✠ CNVT / R · ECX 𐌹N	✠ LEOFSEI ON STANF	W. C. Wells.
109	✠ CNV: / T RECX 𐌹:	✠ LEOPFINE ON STAN:	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
110	✠ CNV: / T RECX 𐌹	✠ LEOPFINE ON STAN:	R. C. Lockett.
111	(Unrecorded.)	✠ LEPINE ON STAN	<i>Num. Circ.</i>

¹ The reverse die for this coin was originally inscribed ✠ GODPINE ON STANCI (= F), subsequently corrected to ✠ GONPINE ON STANCI (= F). The name Godwine having appeared intermittently as moneyer at Stamford, upon several types of coins of Æthelred II, Canute, Harold I, Harthacnut, and Eadweard the Confessor, ranging in period from the second type of Æthelred to the fifth of Eadweard, the natural inference would be that the correct name should be *Godwine*. A coin from the same dies is in the Bruun Collection at Copenhagen, which in the official catalogue (see note to nos. 86 and 88, *ante*), no. 865, is described as reading *Godwine on Stanf*, with a footnote stating that the name in the die had been corrected from *Gonwine* to *Godwine*. Such was the opinion held by the present writer until recently when he closely compared two very fine specimens struck from these dies, which show quite clearly that the inscription was corrected from GODPINE to GONPINE, the N being clearly superimposed upon the D. *Gonwine* or *Gondwine* was a known name in the eleventh century, for we find in *Domesday* mention of *Gondwin*, a Suffolk tenant-in-chief.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
112	✠ CNVT / RECX AN	✠ LEOPOL·D ON STAN <i>Variety.</i> Pellet on inner circle in the fourth quar- ter.	R. C. Lockett.
113	✠ CNVT / R·ECX A:	✠ LEOPOL·D ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
114	✠ CNVT / R·ECX A:	✠ LEOPOLD ON STAN	Brit. Mus.
115	✠ CNVT / RECX A:	✠ L·EOP·OLD ON STA:	W. C. Wells.
116	✠ CNVT R/EX ANG	✠ MORVLF ON STANF	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 70.]
117	✠ CNVT / R·ECX AN	✠ MORVL·F ON STANF	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 71.]
118	✠ CNVT R/EX ANG	✠ MOROLF ON STAN	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 871.
119	✠ CNVT R/EX AN	✠ MOROLF ON STAN	S. Sharp.
120	✠ CNV/T RECX A	✠ OSPERD OSTANFO:	W. C. Wells.
121	✠ CNVT RELX A	✠ OSPER·D ON STANF	Jas. Verity.
122	✠ CNVT R/EX ANG	✠ OSPERD ONN STAN	W. C. Wells.
123	✠ CNV/T REEX A:	✠ OSPOLD ON STANFO:	W. C. Wells.
124	✠ CNV/T REEX A:	✠ OSPOLD MO STANF·	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 875. ¹
125	✠ CNVT R/EX ANGL	✠ ðVRSTAN ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
126	✠ CNV/T RECX A	✠ ðVRSTAN ON STAN:	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 72.]
127	✠ CNVT R/EX ANG	✠ ðV·R·STAN ON STAN:	W. C. Wells.
128	✠ CNVT:/REX AI	✠ ðVRSTAN ON ST	W. C. Wells.
129	✠ CNV/T RECX A	✠ ðVRVLF ON STAN:	W. C. Wells.
130	✠ CNVT / R·ECX A:	✠ ðVRVLF ON STAN:	W. C. Wells.
131	✠ CNVT / RECX A:	✠ ðVRVLF ON STAN:	Bib. Nat., Paris; W. C. Wells.

¹ See note to no. 86, *ante*.

TYPE III ("Short cross" type)

Obverse. Draped and diademed bust of the king to left, descending to the edge of the coin. In front, sceptre, terminating in a fleur-de-lis. No inner circle. Around, inscription, which commences at the top of the coin and is broken by the bust. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Reverse. Short cross voided; occasionally in centre, annulet enclosing pellet. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription. The whole enclosed within a beaded outer circle.

Hawkins, 208; *British Museum Catalogue*, type XVI; *Ruding*, Pl. XXII, figs. 1-5; *Hildebrand*, type H; *Brooke*, Pl. XVI, fig. 14; *Oman*, Pl. XI, fig. 10.

The known moneyers who were coining at Stamford in this type number at least fourteen, viz. Brunwine, Ædwerd, Færgim, Godric, Godwine, Harcin, Leofdæn, Leofdeg, Leofwine, Morulf, Oswald, Oswold, Thurstan, and Thurulf, of whom Ædwerd, Godwine, Leofine, Morulf, Oswald, Oswold, Thurstan, and Thurulf were coining there in type II. We should expect to find coins of this type issued by Leofric, who first coined at Stamford in type II, but the writer has failed to locate specimens. Leofric issued the mule piece of type IIIa/IV, described later, and coined also in type IV of Canute, type I of Harold I, types II and III of Eadweard the Confessor, Harold II, and types II and III of William I.



FIG. 37

The following Stamford varieties of this type have come under the writer's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
132	✠ CNV: / · T RE + :	✠ BRVNPN ON STAN:	W. C. Wells.
132a	✠ CNV / · T RE + :	✠ BRVNPIE ON STA	W. C. Wells.
133	✠ CNVT / · REC X	✠ EDPERD ON STANFO:	Brit. Mus.
134	✠ CNVT / · REC + :	✠ EDPERD ON STANF.	W. C. Wells.
135	✠ [· · ·] TVNIHT = + T HNVT [· · ·] <i>Variety.</i> Bust to right.	NXTS HDORP [· · ·] = [✠ ED] PERO DN STAN = [✠ ED] PERD ON STAN.	W. C. Wells. (Ex Carlyon-Britton collection.)

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
136	✠ CNVT RE+:	✠ AGRIM ¹ ONI ³ STANV ⁴	Thomsen.
137	(Unascertained.)	✠ CARGRIM ² ONI ³ STAN	Upsala.
138	✠ ENV•/T RE+•:	✠ FARGRIM ONI ³ STAN	W. C. Wells.
139	✠ C•N> /•T RE+:	✠ F/ERGRM: ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
140	(Unrecorded.)	✠ FARGRIM ON STAN	Montagu sale cat.
141	✠ ENV•/•-REC	✠ GODPINE ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
142	✠ CNVT:•-REC•X:	✠ GODPINE ONN STAN	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 74.]
143	✠ CNVT /•RECX•:	✠ GODPINE ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
144	✠ CNVT /RECCX	✠ GODPINE ON STA:	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. [Fig. 37.]
145	✠ CN/•T RE+:	✠ HARCIN ONI ⁵ STAN	From an old Danish plate.
146	✠ CNVT /••REC+•: From the same die as no. 147.	✠ LEOD/EI ON STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 75.]
147	✠ CNVT /••RECX•: From the same die as no. 146.	✠ LEOFED/EI ON STAN <i>Variety.</i> Pellet in annulet in centre of cross.	W. C. Wells.
148	✠ CNV/T REC+:	✠ LEOFD/EI ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
149	✠ CNV/T RCX:	✠ L•EOFD/EI ON STAN <i>Variety.</i> Pellet in the annulet in centre of cross.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 76.]
150	✠ CNV/T REX	✠ LEOFD/EN ON STAN	W. C. Wells.

¹ This reading was supplied to S. Sharp, about 1860, by C. J. Thomsen, of Copenhagen, formerly Director of the Royal Cabinet of Coins in that city. Presumably the moneyer's name was Fargrim or Færgrim, and the initial F was overlooked by Thomsen when he copied the reverse inscription. This coin was probably in Thomsen's own collection.

² This coin is in the collection of coins at the University of Upsala, Sweden. The description is extracted from the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins* by Schröder, 1825; also the same author's *Numorum A.-S. Centuria Selecta*, 1847. The correct reading of this reverse is presumably FARGRIM ONI STAN. The lower horizontal stroke of the F is probably placed low, thus causing Schröder to mistake F for C. See also Canute, nos. 101, 197, 198.

³ In the case of the coins reading ONI, the die-sinker presumably intended to impress a double N—NN—in his die, but omitted the second oblique stroke. See NN on reverse of no. 209, *post*. Harold I's coin no. 78 exhibits the form OIN; in this case the die-sinker omitted the first oblique stroke.

⁴ See no. 224, *post*, and note thereto.

⁵ See nos. 136–7, *ante*, and note 3 thereto.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
151	✠ ENV/T RECX	✠ LEOFÐ/EN ON STǺ	W. C. Wells.
152	✠ ENV./•T RE+:	✠ L•EOFD/ÆII ON STǺ	W. C. Wells.
153	✠ ENV/•T REC+	✠• L•EOFD/ÆII ON STǺ	Brit. Mus.
154	✠ ENV/T REC+:	✠• L•EOFD/ÆII ON STǺ•	W. C. Wells.
155	✠ ENV/T RECX:	✠• L•EOFD/ÆII ON STǺ•	W. C. Wells.
156	✠ CHV./•T RE+:	✠ LEOFÐÆII ON STǺ	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 880. ¹
157	✠ ENV/•T RE+	✠ LEOFED/ÆI ON STǺ	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 882. ¹
158	✠ CN/•T RE+•:	✠ LEOFED/ÆI ON STA:	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 883. ¹
159	✠ ENV./•T RE+:	✠ LEOFEDI ON STA	W. C. Wells.
160	✠ ENV/•T RE+:	✠ LEOFED/ÆI ON SA	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 881. ¹
161	✠ CN/•T REX	✠ LEOFEDI ON STǺ	Brit. Mus.
162	✠ ENV/T REX	✠ LEOFEDN ON STǺ	W. C. Wells.
163	(Unrecorded.)	✠ LEOFEOǺ ON STǺM ²	<i>Num. Circ.</i> , Sept. 1914.
164	(Unrecorded.)	✠ LEOFPIE ON STANF	<i>Num. Circ.</i> , April, 1893.
165	✠ CNVT/•RECX:	✠ L•EOFPINE ON STǺN	W. C. Wells.
166	✠ CNVT/•REC+:	✠ LEOFPIE •ON STǺN:	S. Sharp.
167	✠ ENV./•T REX:	✠ LEOFPIE ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
168	✠ CNVT/•RECX:	✠ LEOPINE • ON STAN:	W. C. Wells.
		From the same die as no. 169.	
169	✠ ENV/•T RE+ <i>Variety.</i> Pellet in front of the king's forehead.	✠ LEOPINE • ON STAN:	W. C. Wells.
		From the same die as no. 168.	
170	✠ CNVT/•RECX•:	✠ LEOP/EN ON STAN	From an old Danish plate.
171	✠ CNVT/•RECX:	✠ L•EOFPINE ON S:TǺ:	W. C. Wells.
		From the same die as Harthacnut no. 1.	

¹ See note to no. 88, *ante*.² Probably LEOFEDǺ (or /Æ) ON STAN

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
172	✠ ENV·/·T R·EX:	✠ LEOFPINE ON STA	W. C. Wells.
173	✠ ENV/·T RE+:	✠ LEOFPINE ON STA	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 884. ¹
174	✠ ENV/·T· RE+:	✠ LEOFPINE ON STA·	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 885. ¹
175	✠ ENV/T RE+:	✠ LEOFPIIE ON STA	W. C. Wells.
176	✠ ENV/T REC+	✠ LEOFPINE ON STA·:	W. C. Wells.
177	✠ ENV/·T RE+	✠ LEOFPINE ON STA	W. C. Wells.
178	✠ ENV/T REX	✠ LEOFPINE ON STA	B. Roth sale, 19.7.1917.
179	✠ ENV/T RECX	✠ LEOFPINE ON STA	Brit. Mus.
180	✠ ENV/·T RE+·:	✠ L·EOFPINE ON ST	W. C. Wells.
181	✠ ENV/·T REX:	✠ NORVLF ON STANF	Brit. Mus.
182	✠ ENV/·T RE+:	✠ MORVLF ON STANF	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
183	✠ ENV·/·T REC+:	✠ MORVLF ON STAN·	W. C. Wells.
184	✠ ENV·/·T REX:	✠ NORVLF ON STAN	Brit. Mus.
185	✠ ENVT /·REC·X X	✠ MORVLF ON STAN	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 887. ²
186	✠ EN/·T RE+: Probably from the same die as no. 188.	✠ MORVLF ON STAN	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 886. ²
187	✠ ENVT /·RECX	✠ MORVLF ON STAM	<i>Ruding</i> , Pl. xxii, fig. 1.
188	✠ ENV/·T RE+:	✠ MORVLF ON STA:	W. C. Wells.
189	✠ EN/·T RE+	✠ NORVLF ON STA	W. C. Wells.
190	✠ EN/·T RE+	✠ OSPARD ON STAN	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 889. ²
191	✠ EN/·T RE+	✠ OSPARD ON STA	W. C. Wells.
192	✠ EN/·T RE+	✠ OSPARD ON STA·	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 888. ²
193	✠ ENV/·T RE+:	✠ OSPAR·D ON STA	W. C. Wells.
194	✠ ENVT /·RECX:	✠ OSPERD ON STANF	W. C. Wells.
195	✠ ENV/T RE+:	✠ OSPERD ON STAN·:	W. C. Wells.
196	✠ ENV/T REEX X:	✠ OSPOLD ON STANFO:	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells.
197	✠ ENVT /RECX	✠ ØVSTAN ON STANECR From the same die as no. 198.	W. C. Wells. [Pl. V, fig. 77.]

¹ See note to no. 88, *ante*.

² Ibid.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
198	✠ ENVT / • RECX 𐌹:	✠ ÐVSTAN ON STANFOR From the same die as no. 197.	W. C. Wells.
199	✠ ENVT / • REC+	✠ ÐVSTAN ON STANFOR	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 894. ¹
200	✠ ENVT / • REC+ :	✠ ÐVSTAN ON STANFOR	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 895. ¹
201	✠ ENV / • RECX :	✠ ÐVSTAN ON STANFOR	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 896. ¹
202	✠ ENVT / • RECX	✠ ÐVRSTAN ON STA	W. C. Wells.
203	✠ ENV / T RE+	✠ ÐVRSTAN ON STA	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 891. ¹
204	✠ EN'V / T R'E+	✠ ÐVRSTAN ON STA	W. C. Wells.
205	✠ ENV • / • T REC+ :	✠ DVRSIAN ON STA	W. C. Wells.
206	✠ ENV / T RECX :	✠ ÐVRSTAN ON ST 𐌹	Brit. Mus.
207	✠ EN 𐌹 / T RE+ :	✠ ÐVRSTAN ON STA	W. C. Wells.
208	✠ ENVT / • R'ECX [𐌹: ?]	✠ ÐVRSTAN ON ST 𐌹	W. C. Wells.
209	✠ EN 𐌹 / T RE+ :	✠ ÐVRSTAN ONN STA	W. C. Wells.
210	✠ ENV • / • 𐌹 REC :	✠ ÐVRSTAN ON ST 𐌹	Brit. Mus. ; W. C. Wells.
211	✠ ENVT / • RECX :	✠ ÐVRVLF ON STANF :	W. C. Wells.
212	✠ ENV / T RE+ :	✠ ÐVRVLF ON STAN •	W. C. Wells.
213	✠ ENVT / • RECX	✠ ÐVRVLF ON STAN	Brit. Mus. ; W. C. Wells.
214	✠ ENVT / • RECX	✠ DVRVLF ON STAN	F. A. Denning. ²
215	✠ ENVT / • RECX :	✠ ÐVRVLF ON S: T 𐌹	W. C. Wells.
216	✠ ENVT / REX 𐌹	✠ ÐVRVLF ON S 𐌹 :	W. C. Wells.
217	✠ ENVT / • RECX :	✠ ÐVRVLF ON ST 𐌹 •	W. C. Wells.
218	✠ ENVT / • RECX 𐌹	✠ ÐVRVLF ON ST 𐌹	The late Sir John Evans.
219	✠ ENVT RECX	✠ ÐVRVLF ON ST 𐌹	City of London hoard (Evans).
220	✠ ENVT / • RECX :	✠ ÐVRVLF ON ST 𐌹 •	R. C. Lockett.

¹ See note to no. 88, *ante*.² The late Alderman F. A. Denning, of Stamford, who kindly forwarded his Stamford coins for the author's inspection, and who afterwards bequeathed his whole collection to Stamford Library.

TYPE IIIa

Obverse. Draped and diademed bust of the king to left, descending to the edge of the coin (similar to type III). In front, sceptre, terminating in a fleur-de-lis. No inner circle. Around, inscription, which commences at the left of the coin and is not broken by the bust. (See Pl. V, fig. 73, and Fig. 38.)

Reverse. Short cross voided; in centre, annulet enclosing pellet, &c., as type III. (See Pl. V, fig. 73, and Fig. 38.)



FIG. 38

The following varieties of this rare sub-type have been noted:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
221	•CNVT: + REΓX From the same die as nos. 222/3.	✠EODRIC ON STANFO:	W. C. Wells.
222	•CNVT: + REΓX From the same die as nos. 221, 223.	✠EODRIC ON STAN:	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 38 (above), and Pl. V, fig. 73.]
223	•CNVT: + REΓX From the same die as nos. 221/2.	✠EODPINE ON STΛ:	W. C. Wells.

Godric and Godwine appear to be the only moneyers who struck coins in this sub-type at Stamford, and that appears to be the only mint from which coins of this sub-type have been noted.

MULE TYPE IIIa/IV

Obverse. Draped and diademed bust of the king to left, descending to the edge of the coin, similar to types III and IIIa. In front, sceptre, terminating in a fleur-de-lis. No inner circle, &c., as type III, but the inscription commences at the left of the coin and is not broken by the bust. (See Fig. 37.)

Reverse. Short cross voided, &c., as type IV. (See Fig. 39.)

The following is the only specimen of this extremely rare, and

possibly unique, "mule" coin that has come under the author's notice:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
224	•ENVT: + REF X From the same die as nos. 221-3.	✠ LEOFRIC ON L STAN ¹ From the same die as no. 237, <i>post</i> .	From an old Danish plate.

This "mule" piece was struck from the same obverse die as the coins of type IIIa, nos. 221-3, *ante*, combined with the reverse of no. 237 in the following list of coins of type IV. It is interesting thus to be enabled to identify the dies from which this extremely rare and possibly unique coin was struck. Possibly this piece was an "accidental" mule, and possibly the obverse of the coins of type IIIa was also an accidental variety.



FIG. 39

The moneyer, or moneyers Leofric, commenced coining at Stamford in type II of Canute and continued intermittently until the third type of William I, a period of at least fifty years, thus representing the coining activities of two, or possibly three, generations of members of a moneyer's family—father and son, or possibly father, son, and grandson.

The L in the reverse legend, as also other instances of apparent redundancy,² await explanation; they are probably mere errors on the part of the die-sinkers. See also no. 237, *post*.

TYPE IV ("Quadrilateral ornament" type)

Obverse. Draped and diademed bust of the king to left, descending to the edge of the coin, holding fleur-de-lis headed sceptre in left hand. No inner circle. Around, inscription, which is divided by the bust. Beaded outer circle.

Reverse. Over a short cross voided, a quadrilateral ornament with a pellet at each angle and in the centre. Plain inner circle. Around, inscription. Beaded outer circle.

Hawkins, 209; *British Museum Catalogue*, type XVII; *Ruding*, Pl. xxxiii, figs. 22-4; *Hildebrand*, type I; *Brooke*, Pl. xvi, fig. 15.

¹ STANV (ord.). In late A.-S. and in early medieval times F and V were phonetically interchangeable. In Somerset, to-day, F is commonly pronounced as V. The country people count "one, two, dree, voar, vive" *et seq.* The D in place of "th" in "three" has descended from the same early period, when the theta (Ð, ð), was in common use. In modern English "Stephen" is almost invariably pronounced "Steven". See also Æthelred, no. 13, *ante*, Canute, no. 237, *post*, and Harold I, nos. 36-37, *post*.

² Cp. Canute type III, nos. 136-7, *ante*.

The recorded moneyers coining at Stamford in this type are Ælfēh, Brunwine, Færgim, Godric, Lefwine, Leofric, Swert, and Thurstan, of whom Brunwine, Færgim, Godric, Lefine or Leofwine, and Thurstan were coining there in type III.

The following varieties of Stamford coins of type IV have been recorded:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
225	✠ ENVT / RECX Λ	✠ ÆLFFEH ON STANFO	Hildebrand, 3226.
226	✠ ENVT / RECX AN	✠ BRVNPINE ON STA	Hildebrand, 3236.
227	✠ ENVT / REC+	✠ FÆRGIM ON STAN	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 39.]
228	✠ ENVT / RECX Λ	✠ GODRIC ON STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3267.
229	✠ ENVT / RECX	✠ GODRIC ONN STANFOR	Hildebrand, 3266.
230	✠ ENVT:•/REC+ ¹	✠ GODRIC ON STANFOR	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
231	✠ ENVT:•/REOX• ¹	✠ GODRIC ON STANFO	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
232	✠ ENVT / RECX Λ	✠ GODRIC ON STANFO	Hildebrand, 3265.
233	✠ ENVT / RECX	✠ GODRIC ON STANFO	Hildebrand, 3264.
234	✠ ENVT / RECX Λ	✠ LEFPINE ON STANFO	Hildebrand, 3288.
235	✠ ENVT / RECX	✠ LEFPINE ON STANFO	Hildebrand, 3287.
236	✠ ENVT:•/REC+	✠ LEOFRIC OM/ STANFO: ¹	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 898. ²
237	✠ ENVT / REC+:	✠ LEOFRIC ON L STAN: ³ From the same die as no. 224, <i>ante</i> .	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
238	✠ ENVT R/EC+ AN	✠ SPERT ON STANFO: ¹	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 899. ²
239	✠ ENAT / REC (?)	✠ ðVRSTAN ONN STANF	Hildebrand, 3358.

¹ The "round" form of E's and C's on these coins may be a *lapsus calami* on the part of the describers.

² See note to no. 88, *ante*.

³ See note to Canute no. 224, *ante*.

HAROLD I, KING OF NORTHERN ENGLAND, A.D. 1035-7,
KING OF ALL ENGLAND, A.D. 1037-40

HARTHACNUT, KING OF SOUTHERN ENGLAND, A.D. 1035-7,
KING OF ALL ENGLAND, A.D. 1040-2

The events which followed the death of Canute are told by the chroniclers with much contradiction and confusion. These difficulties appear to have been caused by the division of the kingdom between Harold and Harthacnut, an ephemeral arrangement which lasted less than two years.

In the year 1017 Canute married Ælfgyfu-Emma, widow of Æthelred II. Canute had previously contracted an irregular union with another Ælfgyfu, who is usually distinguished as Ælfgyfu of Northampton,¹ by whom he had two sons, Harold and Sweyn. Upon her marriage with Canute, Ælfgyfu-Emma stipulated that any son she might have by Canute should succeed to the English crown in priority to his existing sons, Harold and Sweyn, an arrangement to which Canute pledged himself, and thus Harthacnut was marked out before birth as heir to the English crown.

Ælfgyfu of Northampton was the daughter of Ælfhelm, Ealdorman of some portion of Northumberland, probably of Deira, who was murdered in 1006, at the instigation of Eadric Streona. Eadric is generally understood to have been made Ealdorman of Mercia in 1007, but Florence of Worcester appears to suggest that at the time of Ælfhelm's murder Eadric was already Ealdorman of Mercia; and Lappenberg² refers to Ælfhelm as "Earl of Northampton". Thus we can readily understand the anxiety of the unscrupulous Eadric to get rid of a possible rival Ealdorman whose territory lay within his own province of Mercia; and at the same time we have it explained why Ælfgyfu was "of Northampton".

At the time of Canute's death Sweyn, his elder son by Ælfgyfu of Northampton, was King of Norway, but for Harold no provision had been made by the late king. Canute's will in favour of Harthacnut, who was already King of Denmark, was supported by the West Saxons with Godwine their earl as their leader. On the other hand, Harold, the son of Ælfgyfu of Northampton, also came forward as a claimant for the crown. His claim was supported by Leofric, Earl of Mercia, by the great body of the thegns north of the Thames, and by the "lithsmen", the seafaring folk, of London; Harold was the candidate of the Danes, Harthacnut of the English. This seems to be a division quite contrary to what might have been expected, for Harthacnut had no English blood in his veins, while Harold was English, at least on his mother's side.

The explanation of this anomalous position is probably to be found

¹ In the Worcester Chronicle, Cottonian MS. Tiberius, B. IV, she is designated as "Ælfgyfa pære Hamtunisca".

² *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, Benjamin Thorpe's translation, 1845, vol. ii, p. 221. A new edition, revised by E. C. Otté, 1881, vol. ii, p. 270.

in the fact that Canute had lived amongst his West Saxon subjects and had identified himself in every way with them, and it can be understood quite readily that they accepted the wishes of Canute with regard to the succession as a sacred law. On the other hand, it is quite easy to see how Harold's position would appeal to the Danish and half-Danish inhabitants of Mercia and Northumberland. Harold had a local connexion with Northumberland as the grandson of Ælfhelm, and with Mercia as the son of Ælfgyfu of Northampton.

At Christmas 1035 the Witan of all England met in full Gemót at Oxford and proceeded to discuss the merits of the two candidates. Godwine, Earl¹ of Wessex, supported by the full force of his earldom, put forward the claims of the absent Harthacnut, but in vain. The proposal for a division of the kingdom came from Leofric, Earl of all Mercia, a proposal which Godwine and his supporters strongly resisted, but the majority was with Leofric and the Witan decided upon the division of the country between the two candidates; Harold to reign on the north of the Thames and Harthacnut on the south. Thus England had two kings, each apparently more or less independent of the other, but with a probable supremacy of Harold over Harthacnut.

Harthacnut's kingdom of Denmark was at that time threatened by Magnus of Norway, and he considered his first duty was to stay and provide for its defence rather than to come to England and take possession of the West Saxon kingdom which he held as a vassal of the King of the Mercians and the Northumbrians. Consequently he stayed away in spite of the entreaties of his English subjects to come and take possession of his Wessex kingdom; and they, in 1037, feeling that Harthacnut had slighted them, deposed him and elected Harold as their immediate sovereign. This was probably brought about by the Witan of Wessex and, apparently, confirmed by a vote of the Witan of all England. And thus Harold became King of all England.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,² under the year 1037, says:

"This year men chose Harold King over all, and forsook Harthacnut because he stayed too long in Denmark; and they then drove out his mother Ælfgyfu, the relict of King Cnut, without any pity against the raging winter."

Coinage in the old world was the unquestioned test of kingship, and one of the first acts of Ælfgyfu-Emma, and Godwine, in 1036, to emphasize their absent chief's sovereignty, would be the issue of a coinage bearing his name. Harold would be equally prompt in issuing a coinage for the northern kingdom bearing his own name.

The coins of Harold I of my type I (*Hildebrand*, A; *British Museum Catalogue*, type I), and those of Harthacnut of my type I (*Hildebrand*, A; *British Museum Catalogue*, type I), are identical in type, the only

¹ The chroniclers constantly speak of *Ealdormen*, even in Danish districts like Lindsey; but that may be an accommodation to southern language. In the purely Saxon districts there can be no doubt that the ancient title of Ealdorman went on uninterruptedly, till under Canute *Eorl* supplemented it everywhere.

² MS. D, Cottonian MS. Tiberius, B. IV.

difference being that one series bears the name of Harold and the other series that of Harthacnut, and there can be no doubt that the two series were issued contemporaneously during the period of Harthacnut's short reign as King of Wessex from 1035 to 1037. This identity of type was probably in accordance with an agreement between Harold and Ælfgifu-Emma, acting as Regent on behalf of her son Harthacnut. The object of this uniformity of type was probably to enable the coins to circulate indiscriminately in each kingdom.

All the known coins of type I issued in the name of Harthacnut emanated from towns situated upon or south of the Thames—that is, within Harthacnut's division of the country—whilst those issued in Harold's name emanated from towns north of the Thames. The foregoing facts appear to have been quite unnoticed by the authors of our numismatic text-books, and to Mr. H. A. Parsons belongs the credit of having been the first to suggest, in print,¹ that the two series were issued contemporaneously.

The reasons which induced an immediate coinage by Harold and by Harthacnut's regent, upon the decision of the Witan in 1035, apply with equal force to the time of Harold's succession to the crown of all England, and Harold's desire to emphasize his supremacy over Wessex by the issue of coins bearing his name from West Saxon mints was too urgent to allow of the consideration of the issue of a new type, and dies for coins of type I, bearing Harold's name and similar to those which had been in issue nearly two years in Harold's kingdom, north of the Thames, appear to have been sent out immediately to certain mints which had previously issued coins of similar type bearing Harthacnut's name.² At the same time dies were furnished to other mint-towns which, although included in Harthacnut's southern kingdom, do not appear to have issued coins bearing his name. Thus we find coins of Harold's type I issued from Wessex mints as well as from others situated north of the Thames.

Harold's second type, *Hildebrand*, B; *British Museum Catalogue*, type V, was probably instituted in 1038 and continued in issue until the death of Harold, in 1040. In Hildebrand's exhaustive catalogue we find described no fewer than 1,048 coins of Harold I, of which 56 were struck at the Stamford Mint, 21 being of type I and 35 of type II.

When Harold died, in March 1040, his brother Harthacnut was at Bruges. Immediately upon Harold's burial, the Witan of all England met and unanimously chose Harthacnut as king. He came to England in the following June and was crowned shortly afterwards. He was a violent and dissolute man. He caused the body of Harold, the late king, to be disinterred and cast into the Thames. He was tyrannous and unpopular, principally on account of the heavy danegelt which he levied in 1041-2; and when, in June 1042, during a drinking bout at a marriage feast he fell down in a fit and died immediately, the whole nation rejoiced.

¹ See *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xi, pp. 39-43.

² Bath, Bristol, Dover, Exeter, Wallingford, and Winchester.

When Harthacnut came to the throne he issued a coinage similar to that which was in circulation during his short reign as king of Wessex, the only difference being that his bust was turned to the right instead of the left. This type appears to have been issued for a short time only and to have been struck in very limited numbers. Type III was probably issued in 1041. Hildebrand describes 52 specimens of type II, of which 2 are of the Stamford Mint, and 124 of type III, of which 7 emanated from Stamford.

HAROLD I, KING OF NORTHERN ENGLAND, A.D. 1035-7,
KING OF ALL ENGLAND, A.D. 1037-40



FIG. 40



FIG. 41

TYPE I (as King of Northern England)

Obverse. Draped and diademed bust of the king to left, descending to the edge of the coin. No inner circle. Around, inscription divided by bust. Beaded outer circle.

Reverse. Cross composed of four ovals united at their bases by two circles; large pellet in centre. No inner circle. Around, inscription. Beaded outer circle.

British Museum Catalogue, type I; *Ruding*, Pl. xxiv, figs. 1-3; *Hildebrand*, type A; *Brooke*, Pl. xvii, fig. 1; *Oman*, Pl. xi, fig. 12.

The known moneyers who were coining at Stamford in this type were Ælfwine, Brunwine, Færgim or Færgrim, Godric, Godwine, Leofdæn, Leofric, Lifinc (?), Leofwine, Osward, Swert, Thurstan, and Thurulf, of whom Brunwine, Færgrim, Godric, Leofric, Leofwine, Swert, and Thurstan were coining there in type IV of Canute.

The following varieties of Stamford coins have been recorded:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
1	✠ HÆROI / REC+ A	✠ /EL[FPINE] ONN STAN	W. C. Wells.
2	✠ HAR•/OLD RE+	✠ BRVNPINE ON STA	W. C. Wells. [Pl. VI, fig. 78.]
3	✠ HAR•/DL D RE	✠ BRVNPINE ON ST A	Brit. Mus.
4	✠ HARO•L•D RE	✠ B•RVNRINE ON STA	Roy. Coll., Copenhagen.
5	✠ HARO•L•D REI	✠ BRVNRINE ON 2A	Roy. Coll., Copenhagen.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
6	✠ HĀRO/RD REX	✠ FÆRERIN ON STANF:	W. C. Wells. [Pl. VI, fig. 79.]
7	✠ HARORD REX	✠ FARERIM ON STAF	Hildebrand,
8	✠ HAROLD REEX AN The inscription begins before the head.	✠ FÆRERIM ON STA ¹	Hildebrand, 876.
9	✠ NAR/OLD RE	✠ EO·DRI·C ON STANFO	W. C. Wells.
10	✠ HAR/OLD RE+	✠ EODRIL· ON STANF:	W. C. Wells. [Pl. VI, fig. 80.]
11	✠ HĀRO/LDLRDRE:	✠ EORIC ON STNFOR·	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 40.]
12	(Unrecorded.)	✠ EODRIC ON STANF <i>Variety. Inner circle.</i> ²	Burstal sale cat.
13	✠ HAROLD REEX	✠ EODPINE ON STAN	Hildebrand, 892.
14	✠ HAROLD REX	✠ LEOFD/EII ON STANFO	Hildebrand, 906.
15	✠ HAROLD R	✠ LEOFD/EI ON STANF	Hildebrand, 905.
16	✠ HAROLD R	✠ LEFED/EI ON STAN	Hildebrand, 897.
17	✠ NARO/L·D REX From the same die as no. 18.	✠ LEFED/EI ON STAN	W. C. Wells.
18	✠ NARO/L·D REX From the same die as no. 17.	✠ ·L·EFECEI ON STAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. VI, fig. 81.]
19	✠ HARO/LD RE⋈	✠ LEOFRIE ON STANF:	Brit. Mus.
20	✠ HAR/OLD REX	✠ L·EF·RIE ON STANF:	W. C. Wells. [Pl. VI, fig. 82.]
21	✠ HAROLD REI	✠ LEOFRIE ON STAN	Roy. Coll., Copenhagen.
22	✠ HAROLD REEX	✠ LEOFRIE ON STAN	Hildebrand, 908.
23	✠ HAROLD R:	✠ LEOFRIE ON STA·:	S. Sharp.
24	✠ HAROLD RE.+. .	✠ L·EFRIE ON STANFO	Thomsen. ³
25	✠ HAROLD REX	✠ LEFRIE ON STANVO	Hildebrand, 902.
26	✠ HAROLD RE+	✠ LEFRIE ON STANCO (= STANFO)	Hildebrand, 899.
27	✠ HARO·LD RE+	✠ CEFR·IE ON STANF	W. Webster.

¹ See also under "Harthacnut", type I.² Hildebrand describes this variety with inner circle as a separate type, viz. A variety *a*. This is the only Stamford coin of this variety known to the author.³ See note to Canute, no. 136, *ante*.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
28	✠ HAROLD REX	✠ L·EF·RIC ON STANF:	S. Sharp.
29	✠ HAROLD REX	✠ LEFRIC ON STANF	Hildebrand, 901.
30	✠ HAROLD REX	✠ LEFRIC ON STAN	Hildebrand, 900.
31	✠ HAROLD REX A	✠ LIFNEC ON STANFOR	Hildebrand, 910.
32	(Indecipherable.)	✠ [LIFI]NE ONN ST[AN]	Hildebrand, 909. (Cut halfpenny.)
33	✠ HAROLD REX	✠ LEOFRNE ON STA	W. Webster.
34	✠ HARO·L·D REI	✠ OSPARD ON STANF:	Roy. Coll., Copenhagen.
35	✠ HAROLD RECX	✠ SPERT ONN STANFOFO	Hildebrand, 912.
36	✠ HAROL/D REC+.	✠ SPERT ON S·ANVO From the same die as no. 37.	Brit. Mus.
37	✠ HAR·/OLD RE+	✠ SPERT ON S·ANVO From the same die as no. 36.	Brit. Mus.
38	✠ HAR/OLD REX	✠ ðVRSTAN ON STANFO:	R. C. Lockett.
39	✠ HÆRO/LDO REX	✠ ðVRSTAN ON STANF:	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 41.]
40	✠ HAR/OLD REC	✠ ðVRSTAN ON STANFO:	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, no. 1149. ¹
41	✠ HAROLD RECX	✠ ðVRSTA ON STANFO:	B. B. Brahe. ²
42	✠ HAROD RECX	✠ ðVRVLF ON STANFO	Hildebrand, 917.
43	✠ HAROLD REC+:	✠ ðVRVL·F ON STANFO	Thomsen. ³
44	✠ HARO·L·D RECX	✠ ðVRVLF ONN STANFO:	Roy. Coll., Copenhagen.

TYPE II (as King of all England)

Obverse. Diademed bust to left, in chain armour; in front, shield and sceptre. Around, inscription divided by bust; beaded outer circle.

¹ See note to Canute, no. 88, *ante*.

² The Count of Bille Brahe of Brahesminde on Fyen, Denmark, who communicated readings to S. Sharp, in the 60's of last century.

³ See note 1 to Canute, no. 136, *ante*.

Reverse. Long cross voided, limbs united at their bases by circle enclosing pellet; in each angle, trefoil of three pellets, or fleur-de-lis, the latter being the usual variety.

Hawkins, 214; *British Museum Catalogue*, types V and V, varieties a, b, and c; *Ruding*, Pl. XXIV, fig. 4; *Hildebrand*, types B and B, varieties a; *Brooke*, Pl. XVII, fig. 2; *Oman*, Pl. XI, fig. 14.

The recorded Stamford moneyers coining in this type number at least nine, viz. Ælfwine, Alfán, Arcil, Arcital, "Bl. . . .", Brunwine, Castri or Casgri, Færgim, and Godric; of whom Ælfwine, Brunwine, Færgim, and Godric were coining in the previous type.



FIG. 42



FIG. 43

The following Stamford coins of this type have been noted:

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
45	✠ HAROLD REE	✠ /ELFPNE ON STA ¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 866.
46	✠ HARO/LD RE+ ²	✠ AL/FAN/OII S/TAN ²	Bruun Coll., Copenhagen, No. 1150. ²
47	✠ HARO/LD REX:	✠ ΛVFAW OII S-TAN	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
48	✠ HAROLD REC	✠ ARCIL ON STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 868.
49	✠ HĀRO/Λ/LD RE+ ²	✠ AR/CIL/ON S/TAH ²	W. C. Wells.
50	✠ HAROLD REC	✠ ARCIL ONN STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 867.
51	✠ HAROLD REC	✠ ARCYL ONN STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 870.
52	✠ HAR/O/L'D RE+ ²	✠ AR/NEIT/EL ON STA ²	W. C. Wells.
53	(Indecipherable.)	✠ BL[.....]O STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 872. "Fragment." Probably cut halfpenny.
54	✠ NAR/OLD REC ¹	✠ BRV/NPIN/E ON/ STAN ²	W. C. Wells. [Pl. VI, fig. 83.]
55	✠ HMROLD REC	✠ BRVNPINE ON S-TAE ¹	S. Sharp.
56	✠ HĀRO:LD RE+.	✠ BRVNPINE ON STA ¹	Roy. Cab., Berlin.
57	✠ HAR/OLD REX	✠ BRVNPINE ON STΛ	<i>Num. Circ.</i> , May 1896.
58	✠ HAR-OLD RE:	✠ BRVII-PINE O STA	Lünd.

¹ See note 2 on p. 173, *post*.

² See note 2 to Canute, no. 2, *ante*.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
59	✠ HAROLD REC	✠ BRVNPINE ON STA	Hildebrand, 874.
60	✠ :HAR:/LD RE ¹	✠ BR/VPI/NN O:/ 2TA ¹	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 42.]
61	✠ :HAR:LD RE	✠ BRVPI ON 2TA	W. Webster.
62	✠ :HAR:LD RE	✠ BRVPI M- O: 2TA	S. Sharp.
63	✠ HARO·LD RE+:	✠ CASERI ON STAN ²	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
64	✠ HAROLD RECX	✠ CASTRI ON STAN	W. Webster.
65	✠ HAROLD REX	✠ CASLF ON STAN ²	Hildebrand, 875.
66	✠ HARODL REX	✠ FARERM O STAN	Hildebrand, 882.
67	✠ HAROLD RECX	✠ FARERIM O STA ²	Hildebrand, 879.
68	✠ HAROLD RECX	✠ FARERM O 2TA ²	Hildebrand, 880.
69	✠ HARODL REX	✠ FARERM O STA	Hildebrand, 881.
70	✠ HAROLD RECX	✠ F/ERERIM O STA	Hildebrand, 877.
71	✠ HAROLD REX	✠ GODRIC ON STAN ²	Hildebrand, 888.
72	✠ HAR:/OLD R·E+.	✠ GO/DRII/E ON/ STA [*]	Brit. Mus.; W. C. Wells. [Pl. VI, fig. 84.]
73	✠ HAROLD REX	✠ GODRIC ON STA	Hildebrand, 885.
74	✠ HAROLD REC	✠ GODRIC ON STA ²	Hildebrand, 887.
75	✠ HAROLD REC	✠ GODRIC ON STA	Hildebrand, 886.
76	✠ HARO:·LDLD RE:	✠ GODP·INE ON STA:	Roy. Cab., Copenhagen.
77	✠ HAR:OLD R·EX	✠ CODDINE ON STA	Brit. Mus.
78	✠ HAROLDLD RE ³	✠ GODPINE OIN STA	Hildebrand, 890.
79	(Indecipherable.)	✠ GODPINE OI STA ²	Hildebrand, 891.
80	✠ HARO:/LDLD RE: ¹	✠ CODPINE OIN STA	S. Sharp.
81	✠ NARO:/LDLD RE: ¹	✠ GO/DPI/NE O:/N STA ¹	W. C. Wells. [Fig. 43.]
82	✠ HAROLD REX	✠ GODPNE ON STA	Hildebrand, 894.
83	✠ HAROL·/D REC+: ¹	✠ HA/REI/N ON/ STA ^{* 1}	W. C. Wells. [Pl. VI, fig. 85.]
84	✠ HAROLD RECX	✠ LEFRIC ON STANF	Hildebrand, 903.
85	✠ HAROLD RE	✠ LEOFRE ON STAN ²	Hildebrand, 907.
86	✠ HAROLD RECX	✠ LELPINE ON STA	Hildebrand, 904.
87	✠ HAR:LD RE+:	✠ SP:ART: OH: STA	Thomsen. ⁴

¹ See note 2 to Canute, no. 2, *ante*.

² These coins have in each angle of the cross a trefoil of pellets instead of the usual fleur-de-lis. This variety constitutes type V in the *B.M. Cat.* and type B, *variety a*, in Hildebrand's classification.

³ Possibly a varied reading of no. 80 and vice versa.

⁴ See note 1 to Canute, no. 136, *ante*.

No.	Obverse	Reverse	Provenance, &c.
88	✠ HARO/•LD RE+:	✠ SP/APT/ON Σ/TAN	W. C. Wells. [Pl. VI, fig. 86.]
89	✠ HAROLD REX Λ	✠ SPART ON STAN	W. Webster.
90	✠ HAROLD REC	✠ SPERT ONN STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 914.
91	✠ HAROLD REEC	✠ ØVRCEET O STAN ¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 915.
92	✠ HAROLD REX Λ	✠ ØVRVLF ON STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 919.
93	✠ HAROLD REC	✠ ØVRVLF ² ON STAN	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 920.
94	✠ HAROLD REX Λ	✠ ØVRVLF ² ON STA	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 918.
95	(Indecipherable.)	✠ PILERI ON STANC	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 921.
96	✠ HAROLD RIX	✠ PILRIM ON 2TAF ¹	<i>Hildebrand</i> , 922.

¹ See note 2 on p. 173, *ante*.

² *Hildebrand*, in a footnote, says the F in the moneyer's name is "topsy-turvy".

DIE LINKS BETWEEN EDWARD IV, EDWARD V, AND RICHARD III

By C. A. WHITTON

THE die links to be discussed have been found, save for two half-groats, among angels and groats, which, it is almost unnecessary to say, are the only coins of Edward V and Richard III abundant enough to afford practical means for investigation.

In an article published in vol. xxii (p. 213) of the *British Numismatic Journal* Mr. C. E. Blunt was able to give cogent reasons for believing that the coins with I.M. Sun-and-Rose dimidiated, bearing the name of Edward, should be attributed to Edward IV rather than to Edward V, and that to Edward V should be assigned only those coins with obverse I.M. Boar's Head. In point of fact this was not a new classification but the revival of an old one.

Briefly, the reasons given by Mr. Blunt for the reattribution of these Sun-and-Rose marked coins to Edward IV are as follows:

First, the unusual manner in which the accounts are treated suggests that the only bullion coined for Edward V was that received in May and June 1483. In this connexion it may be recalled that Edward V acceded on 9 April 1483, that Richard was appointed Protector on 5 May following, and that Edward was deposed on 26 June 1483. Thus Edward while king was under Richard's tutelage for rather more than seven weeks.

Secondly, these seven weeks seem too short a period to require two different pyx-period marks, if such they are, the Sun-and-Rose and the Boar's Head.

Thirdly, the surviving pieces with obverse I.M. Sun-and-Rose show more dies than are commensurate with such a small coinage as we know from the mint accounts took place during that time.

Fourthly, the surviving pieces with the name of Edward and obverse I.M. Boar's Head are in fact by their extreme rarity commensurate with just such a small coinage.

Lastly, the alteration of the I.M. Sun-and-Rose to Boar's Head, which was in some cases made by Richard, was done not only as a piece of ordinary economy but also to show that henceforward, that is, after 5 May 1483, the name of Edward (now the Vth) was to be associated not with the Sun and Rose, which were primarily marks of Edward IV, but with his own Protector's emblem of the Boar's Head.

I have alluded to the alteration of the I.M. Sun-and-Rose to the Boar's Head. In the article here cited this alteration was known in the case of only one die of silver and one of gold. Two groats at the British Museum, one with I.M. Sun-and-Rose, and the other with Boar's Head, were noticed by Mr. D. F. Allen to be struck from the same obverse die, and Mr. Blunt was able to instance a similar die

identity between the obverses of an angel at the British Museum, having I.M. Boar's Head, and a coin in the Rashleigh sale catalogue (lot 742), with I.M. Sun-and-Rose.

This die identity is now known to be more extensive than was then perhaps suspected. An examination of the relevant coins illustrated in most of the important sale catalogues of the last fifty years, and of a few in modern collections, has revealed that in every instance which it has been possible to examine a groat or an angel which bears the name of Edward and the obverse I.M. Boar's Head can be matched by a coin struck from the same obverse die and bearing the I.M. Sun-and-Rose. It seems therefore possible that no new dies were prepared for Edward V, but that all that were needed were provided by stamping old ones of his father with the Protector's emblem. It was possibly only a temporary arrangement, but before new dies could be made the young king had been deposed.

This is what the coins themselves appear to suggest. Let us see how far the theory accords with the evidence of history.

On the death of Edward IV on 9 April 1483 some confusion apparently prevailed while the young king was in the custody of his mother and her brothers. This confusion lasted until Richard arrived in London on 4 May, took charge of the king next day as Protector, and from then on was in supreme control of affairs. During this period, from 9 April to 5 May, it is probable that no coinage took place. The peculiar ruling of the accounts of the period, in the opinion of an official of the Record Office, suggests this. If this is so, there remain the seven weeks before Edward's deposition, that is, from 5 May to 26 June, as the only period during which money was struck for him. It seems almost certain that no coins would be struck during that time which did not bear the Boar's Head; and as we have seen, the surviving coins show that all were struck from old dies. But a historian has made a suggestion which takes us perhaps even further. Mr. Vickers in his *England in the Later Middle Ages* has remarked that in the light of some after events it seems likely that for some weeks before Edward's deposition Richard had been making preparations to seize the throne. In that case it seems a legitimate inference that he never intended that new dies should be made for Edward, knowing that they would never be needed.

The die links which it has been possible to establish between Edward IV and Edward V are shown by groups of mostly well-known coins. The groats comprise eleven coins formed from four different obverse dies and ten reverse dies. A further field of investigation lies open here, for it is possible that some of these reverse dies were used later for coins bearing the name of Richard, but Richard's groats have hitherto not been so frequently illustrated, and I have been unable to pursue the inquiry from the coins themselves. The list of angels reveals facts which in some respects confirm this suggestion. They show die identity between two obverse dies with I.M.s Sun-and-Rose and Boar's Head (perhaps the only two known with this rare mark),

though in no instance has it been possible to establish die identity between a reverse showing \mathfrak{A} and a rose beside the cross and one showing \mathfrak{R} over \mathfrak{A} and a rose. On the other hand one reverse die with \mathfrak{R} over \mathfrak{A} and rose is found with three different obverse dies, one of Edward IV with I.M. Sun-and-Rose, one of Edward V with I.M. Boar's Head over Sun-and-Rose, and one reading **RICARD** with Boar's Head. Conversely one obverse die with, first, Sun-and-Rose, and secondly, Boar's Head (of course, over Sun-and-Rose), is found with both types of reverse, \mathfrak{A} and rose, and \mathfrak{R} over \mathfrak{A} and rose.

One angel of Richard III is especially interesting. It is a coin in the Ashmolean Museum, with obverse I.M. Boar's Head, but the reverse, with I.M. Sun-and-Rose, shows, not \mathfrak{R} , but \mathfrak{A} and a rose beside the cross (Pl. I, 4), and is moreover struck from the same reverse die as the Rashleigh angel listed below (lot 742), which reads **EDWARD**, has I.M. Sun-and-Rose on both sides, and forms also an obverse die link in the series under discussion.

It is not without importance to note that when the graver altered the initial mark on certain angels (see, e.g., Montagu, ii. 636, and Packe, 61) he took the opportunity, with the customary careful attention to gold dies, to "touch up" the die in some respects; thus the initial \mathfrak{A} of Edward was restruck and the inner circle was redrawn beneath the king's name. Such details show that die identity may at first sight remain undetected.

DIE LINKS BETWEEN EDWARD IV, EDWARD V, AND RICHARD III

GROATS (all rev. dies have I.M. Sun-and-Rose)

Same obv. die	1.	Edw. IV, I.M. Sun-and-Rose; no pellet below bust; <i>B.N.J.</i> xxii, p. 213, Pl. 7.	
	2.	" V " Boar's Head; " " " " " 8.	
Same obv. die	3.	" IV " Sun-and-Rose; " " Morrieson sale, 210.	
	4.	" V " Boar's Head; " " Walters sale (1913), 461.	
Same obv. die	5.	" V " " " " " R. C. Lockett, <i>same rev.</i> <i>die as no. 9.</i>	
	6.	" IV " Sun-and-Rose; " " Murdoch sale, i. 371.	
Same obv. die	7.	" V " Boar's Head; " " Wheeler sale, 276, <i>ex</i> Roth sale, i. 228.	
	8.	" IV " Sun-and-Rose; pellet below bust; Wheeler sale, 275.	
Same obv. die	9.	" V " Boar's Head; " " Dawnay sale 51 (July 1922, Soth.); <i>same rev.</i> <i>die as no. 5.</i>	
	10.	" V " " " " " Brooke, <i>English Coins</i> , Pl. xxxv, 1.	

HALF-GROATS

- Edward IV or V, obv. I.M. uncertain, but either Sun-and-Rose or Boar's Head, rev. no. I.M., *B.N.J.* xxii. 213, Pl. 9.
- Richard III, obv. I.M. Sun-and-Rose, rev. same die, *B.N.J.* xxii. 213, Pl. 10.

ANGELS

<i>Obverse</i> (All read EDWARD unless otherwise shown)			<i>Reverse</i> (I.M. Sun-and-Rose unless otherwise shown)	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	1.	I.M. Sun-and-Rose, Drabble, 119.	☉ and Rose.	
	2.	„ „ B.N.J. xxii, 213, Pl. no. 3.	☉ over ☉ and Rose (Pl. I, 1).	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	3.	„ „ Rashleigh, 742.	☉ and Rose; <i>same rev. die</i> as no. 10.	
	4.	„ Boar's Head, B.N.J. loc. cit., no. 2.	☉ and Rose	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	5.	„ Sun-and-Rose, Maish, 169 ¹ (Soth., March 1918).	„	
	6.	„ „ Packe, 61 (Soth., July 1921).	„	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	7.	„ Boar's Head, B.N.J. loc. cit., no. 4. ²	☉ over ☉ and Rose	
	8.	„ Sun-and-Rose, RICHARD , Fitzwilliam	„ „	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	9.	„ Boar's Head, RICHARD , Drabble, 120.	„ „	
	10.	„ „ RICHARD , Ashmolean.	☉ and Rose, <i>same rev. die</i> as no. 3 (Pl. I, 4).	
<i>Same</i> <i>obv.</i> <i>die</i>	11.	„ „ RICHARD , Fletcher, 44. ³	☉ and Rose (I.M. Boar's Head).	
	12.	„ „ RICHARD , M. Foster, 66 (Pl. I, 8).	☉ ⁴ and Rose (I.M. Sun-and-Rose over Boar's Head	
	13.	„ „ RICHARD , Roth, ii. 207.	☉ ⁴ and Rose (I.M. Boar's Head)	

¹ Manley Foster 62 (Sotheby, Nov. 1903) shows the same obverse die, with Sun-and-Rose, but another reverse with ☉ and Rose.

² Montagu, ii. 636 is from the same pair of dies; Mr. H. A. Parsons has an angel from the same obverse die (with Boar's Head) and a reverse from the same die as Montagu ii. 631 (☉ and Rose).

³ Glendining, Dec. 1937.

⁴ ☉ struck over a misplaced rose, not ☉.

THE ANGELS AND GROATS OF RICHARD III

By E. J. WINSTANLEY

THE coins of Richard III bear, as is well known, two initial marks, the Boar's Head and the Sun-and-Rose dimidiated.

It is the purpose of this paper to show by the evidence of the coins the order in which they were issued. By "the evidence of the coins" I mean the markings and lettering on them, and a comparison of these features with those of the corresponding coins of the last issues of Edward IV, of Edward V, and the earliest issues of Henry VII.

It will be remembered that Mr. C. E. Blunt, in a paper on the coins of Edward V published in vol. xxii of this *Journal*, gave reasons for attributing the coins that read Edward and had the initial mark Sun-and-Rose dimidiated on both sides to the last issue of Edward IV. The result of this was that only those coins that had the Boar's Head on the obverse and the Sun-and-Rose on the reverse and read EDWARD could be considered to have been struck by Edward V. While I realize that such a ruling is not at present acceptable to all collectors, I would make it clear that I refer in this paper to such coins with Sun-and-Rose both sides as attributable to Edward IV. For reasons of paper limitation I have thought it advisable to refer in my text to the two initial marks by abbreviation—"B.H." for Boar's Head, and "S. & R." for Sun-and-Rose. I have limited my study to the angels and groats because the smaller denominations are not only very rare in both metals but in silver are mostly so clipped and worn as to make detailed study impossible.

Richard III's coinage may be said to begin with the death of Edward IV on 9 April 1483. While some historians declare that Richard was named Protector in Edward IV's will, all agree that he assumed powers as Protector on 5 May, and it is evident that he lost no time in putting his mark on the coinage of the boy King Edward V. On 26 June he caused Edward to be deposed, alleging the invalidity of his father's marriage, and had himself proclaimed king. His coronation followed on 6 July. His reign lasted little more than two years, ending with his death on the battlefield of Bosworth on 22 August 1485.

There is little documentary evidence for this short reign. Only one indenture was concluded, eleven days after Richard's coronation, and in the words of Ruding, "In three days afterwards the coins were, by indenture, appointed to be continued as in the fifth year of King Edward IV." During the one Parliament that was held in King Richard's reign only a small proportion of one statute enacted related to his coinage, and that was concerned with correcting abuses of the coinage in Ireland.

The Mint accounts published by the late Miss Ethel Stokes in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1929 show that from July to September 1483, 178 lb. of gold was coined, while from September 1483 to Sep-

tember 1484 the amount was 735 lb., and from September 1484 to 22 August 1485 (the date of the battle of Bosworth) 388 lb. The weight of silver minted during the same three periods was 2,082, 7,107, and 2,475 lb. respectively. These amounts may be compared with the 1,750 lb. of gold and 6,800 lb. of silver that Mr. Blunt gives (*Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xxii, p. 214) as the average annual output in Edward IV's second reign. It will be seen from these figures for the gold that no great number of angels can have been struck by Richard, that is to say few dies were needed and the pursuit of die identities is thereby made easier.

The features on the coins on which the claims of this paper are based are as follows:

1. The size of the cross on the reverse (gold).
2. The form of the Boar's Head initial mark (gold and silver).
3. The form of the Sun-and-Rose initial mark (gold and silver).
4. The form of the letters **x** and **v** (gold).
5. The form of the letters **u** and **o** (silver).
6. The thickness of the long cross on the reverse (silver).

1. A comparison of the reverses of the angels of Edward IV (only those struck after 1470 need be considered), the "Restoration" angels of Henry VI, the angels of Edward V and of Henry VII will show that on all angels of the first three of these reigns the cross is larger than on any angels of Henry VII. The horizontal limb is longer. Both forms of cross appear on angels of Richard III. It is reasonable to conclude that those with the larger cross came first.

2. The initial mark Boar's Head, though always the same on coins of Edward V, shows considerable variation on coins of Richard III. The variations comprise differences of style and size, and a number of these variations can be observed. Nevertheless, the various boar's heads can be grouped under two main headings. One is small and crude and is on the obverse of all coins of Edward V. This I have called "B.H. 1". The other is larger and more conventional and stylized. It tends to vary in size and length but retains always the characteristics of this group. It followed and replaced "B.H. 1" and I have called it "B.H. 2". My drawings (p. 182), though rough, show, I think, the differences between the two groups. The way to tell one from the other on worn or badly struck coins is to look at the line that represents the bottom limit of the creature's lower jaw. In B.H. 1, the line runs unbroken from the point of the chin to the back of the neck. In B.H. 2 there is always a distinct break in this line to represent the upward sweep of the back of the lower jaw. I have found this difference perceptible on nearly all coins. B.H. 2 is found in a long and a short variety, but the essential characteristics are always present and should prevent its being confused with B.H. 1. Only B.H. 1 is found on coins of Edward V, but both forms are found on Richard's coins. I infer therefore that Richard's coins bearing B.H. 1 are the earlier.

3. The Sun-and-Rose mark exists in three distinct forms, but it is

necessary for the mark to be well "struck up" for the differences to be clearly seen. In S. & R. 1 the sun has six short stumpy rays. In S. & R. 2 the six rays are long. Again I must refer the reader to my drawings. S. & R. 1 is the only kind found on coins of Edward IV/V. S. & R. 2 is found only on coins of Richard III, but as S. & R. 1 is also found on Richard III's coins, I conclude that these are his early ones. The six rays of S. & R. 1 and S. & R. 2 confirm the observation of Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton, who, in his paper on the early silver coins of Henry VII in vol. xxiv, p. 28, Part 1 of this *Journal*, attributed the six-rayed sun to Richard III, and a four-rayed sun to Henry VII. But I have found the four-rayed sun on three groats of Richard III and have called it "S. & R. 3". These S. & R. 3 groats show other signs of being late issues, and I conclude that the six-rayed sun punch was discarded and the four-rayed one introduced near the end of Richard's reign.

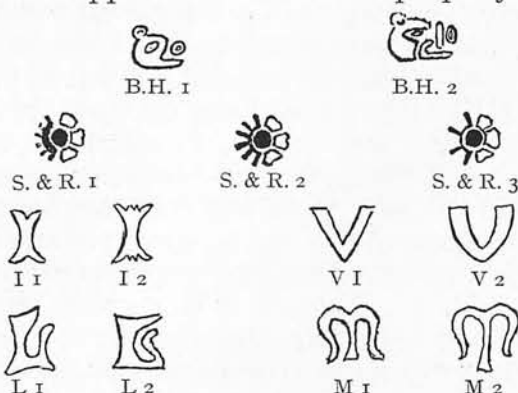
It is not to be supposed that I claim any significance for these differences either in the form of Richard's initial marks or in the form of the letters used on his coins apart from their value as chronological signposts. These differences may represent no more than the whim of the workman engaged in making the punches or engraving the dies. But to anyone who looks for these small signs to establish a sequence they are significant.

4. The differences between the letters "I 1" and "I 2" and between "V 1" and "V 2" are easily stated. I 1 has a one-notched serif and is found on all S. & R./S. & R. and B.H./S. & R. angels that read EDWARD. I 2 has two plainly distinguishable notches in its serif and came into use in the reign of Richard III at the time when the Boar's Head mark was discarded. It is found also on the early angels of Henry VII. V 1 is a straight-sided letter. V 2 is "bow-sided". Again I refer the reader to my drawings. V 1 is found, like I 1, on the angels of Edward IV/V, and on Richard's gold up to the disappearance of B.H. 2 from the reverses of his angels. From then onwards V 2 is invariably found and it persists into the reign of Henry VII.

5. On the silver the differences between L 1 and L 2 and between M 1 and M 2 are sufficiently straightforward for me to refer the reader without further delay to the drawings. L 1 and M 1 are characteristic of Edward IV/V, and of the early issues of Richard III, but L 2 occurs earlier on the silver than do I 2 and V 2 on the gold. I 1 and I 2, and V 1 and V 2, are found only on angels, while L 1 and L 2 and M 1 and M 2 occur only on groats because the two denominations were struck with lettering from two different founts.

6. The groats of Edward V and the S. & R./S. & R. groats of Edward IV have the large cross on the reverse considerably thicker than on most groats of Richard III. But there are some groats of Richard's that have this thick cross, and as they have as initial mark either B.H. 1/S. & R. or S. & R./S. & R., they should be very early issues. But although these points combine to strengthen the force of my attribution, I place them last as being least reliable because I am

aware that both in striking and with wear the cross is liable to become flattened and so to appear thicker than it properly should.



THE ANGELS

In order to decide which were the first angels issued by Richard III, some consideration of the historical aspect of the matter is justified. Whatever the conditions were under which Richard became Protector and nine weeks later king, his actions must surely have aroused doubts and misgivings. It is true that in pre-Reformation times the plea of "pre-contract" was not uncommonly advanced in claiming that a marriage was invalid, but Richard's sincerity may well have been questioned in waiting until his brother was dead before bringing forward a charge against him, which, if substantiated, would confer such incalculable benefit upon himself. The evidence of the coins as to the state of men's minds at this time is that, apart from the normal coins of Edward V carrying Richard's personal emblem the Boar's Head as obverse initial mark, there have survived angels that bear Edward's and Richard's marks mixed in varying ways. For this reason, and because they bear the lettering and markings that my sequence shows to belong to the earliest issues, I believe that these coins are the first issue in gold of Richard's reign. There are four varieties of these angels:

1. Initial mark S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1—reads **EDWARD** and has **R** struck over **Æ** on the reverse. British Museum. No. 1 in my list and **Pl. I, 1**.
2. Initial mark B.H. 1/S. & R. 1—reads **EDWARD** and has **R** struck over **Æ** on the reverse. British Museum. No. 2 in my list and **Pl. I, 2**.
3. Initial mark S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1—reads **RICHARD** and has **R** struck over **Æ** on the reverse. Fitzwilliam Museum, also Thellusson Sale, 22. No. 3 in my list and **Pl. I, 3**.
4. Initial mark B.H. 1/S. & R. 1—reads **RICHARD** and has **Æ** on the reverse. Ashmolean Museum. No. 4 in my list and **Pl. I, 4**.

Reference to my list will show die links connecting these angels with S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1 angels of Edward IV/V, and with angels with B.H. 1/S. & R. 1 that read **RICHARD** and that I consider come next

in the sequence. It should be noted that all angels with initial mark B.H. 1/S. & R. 1 bear I 1 and V 1. They are not mules. The mules come later in the series and have B.H. 2/S. & R. 2 with I 1 on the obverse and V 2 on the reverse. Thus it becomes evident that there was more than one period of issue with the Sun-and-Rose initial mark on both sides. The mark occurs at the very beginning of the reign when the marks of Edward IV/V were continued in use for a while with early lettering as is shown by the four early examples that I have just given. On these early coins it is always S. & R. 1 that we find. Later on, in the form of S. & R. 2, the same mark was brought in again to replace B.H. 2, first on the reverse and then later on both sides, in conjunction with the late letters I 2 and V 2.

Mr. Lockett's angel (no. 14, 1 in my list and **Pl. I, 12**), and the Walters coin (no. 14, 2 in my list), both struck from the same reverse die, are irregular coins in that they bear the small cross on the reverse while marked with B.H. 2 on the obverse. My list shows that the change from large to small cross did not take place until the run of S. & R. 2/S. & R. 2 was established. The presence of V 2 on the reverse shows that the coins are late ones. It is possible that the Mint workman got hold of a discarded B.H. 2 obverse die in error, for if the reversion to the Boar's Head had been deliberate at this time, the obverse would show I 2, whereas it shows I 1. A similar irregularity occurs in the silver (List no. 16, **Pl. II, 14**).

Mr. Lockett's angel (List no. 7, **Pl. I, 7**), the Manley Foster coin (List no. 10, **Pl. I, 8**), and an angel in the Ashmolean Museum, all three struck from the same pair of dies, are not early coins. The obverse initial mark on them is B.H. 2, but the initial mark on the reverse is difficult to distinguish with certainty. There is the appearance on nos. 7 and 10 of B.H. 2, but there is also something very like S. & R. struck perhaps over the B.H. 2. The reverses of these two angels are struck from the same die as the reverse of an angel in the second Roth sale of 1918, lot 207 (no. 5 in my list), but with this difference, that on the reverse of the Roth angel no S. & R. is visible over the B.H. 2; it was added to the die later. This remarkable overstrike affords convincing evidence of a second and later use of the Sun and Rose mark and justifies the illustration of both coins (**Pl. I, 7 & 8**). The initial mark on the reverse of the Ashmolean angel is not clearly struck up. It seems to me that these three coins should be placed in my sequence at the end of the run of B.H. 2/B.H. 2, immediately before the B.H. 2/S. & R. 2 mules. The R on the reverse has been struck over something, but it is plainly not an A as the Manley Foster catalogue claims it to be. Not only would this be unlikely at this stage of Richard's reign, but as Mr. Whitton points out in his paper on "Die Links between Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III", published in this number of our *Journal*, the R appears to be struck over a rose that perhaps the engraver had placed at first on the wrong side of the cross.

With the introduction of the small cross on the reverse, the king's

name is abbreviated to **RICD**, and far from this constituting a rarity as sale catalogues invariably claim, it occurs on every S. & R./S. & R. angel with the small cross on the reverse that I have seen or found illustrated.

THE GROATS

The order of the groats does not differ materially from that of the angels, though we do not find groats as we do angels with Edward's and Richard's marks mixed up. There are rare groats—I have only been able to trace two—with B.H. 1/S. & R. 1 and the early L 1 and M 1, that might have been struck from dies of Edward IV/V, but so far I have not been able to find a die link. But whereas in the gold, I have only been able to trace two S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1 angels with I 1 and V 1 as against 17 or more S. & R. 2/S. & R. 2 angels with I 2 and V 2, in silver S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1 groats are relatively common.

Although in my experience the majority of them have L 2 and M 2 there exist a number of them—in the proportion of about one to three—bearing not only L 1 and M 1, but S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1 too where the initial mark is clear enough to be distinguished. It is inconceivable that these two groups of S. & R./S. & R. groats should have been issued consecutively because L 2 is found on B.H. 2 groats, and reference to the order of the groats in my list shows the stages at which L 2 and M 2 were introduced. One has therefore to conclude that the S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1 groats were struck before the introduction of L 2, and as I know of no reason why they should have been sandwiched between the two Boar's Head marks, their place should be before B.H. 1, i.e. before the B.H. 1/S. & R. 1 groats. Therefore they take their place at the head of the list and constitute the first groats of the reign. My conclusions on this point are strengthened by turning to the tables of bullion bought by the Mint that were compiled by Miss Stokes, to which I have already referred. The amount of 2,082 lb. minted during the first three months of the reign (June to September 1483) is nearly as large as the amount minted during the last eleven months. We should expect therefore to find a substantial number of groats bearing the marks of early issue. It does not seem likely that the very rare B.H. 1/S. & R. 1 groat represents all that has survived of so considerable an issue. The S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1 groats are sufficiently numerous to fit in here, and I have little doubt that this is their rightful place. Other links in the chain are the use on these early S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1 groats of broken L 2 and α punches that I have found used on B.H. 1/B.H. 1 groats and the same faulty initial mark punch with the central boss of the half-rose indicated by a semicircle that is used on the B.H. 1/S. & R. 1 groats.

For the rest, the sequence is that of the angels, though there are other varieties in silver that I have not found in gold. They are:

1. The S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1 groat that reads **DEI**—a rare variant.
2. Groats with B.H. 1 on both sides—a feature I have not found on an angel.

3. The pellet under the bust of nos. 10, 11, and 13. There seems to be nothing on the gold to correspond with this pellet.
4. The groat with S. & R. 2 on the obverse and no initial mark on the reverse. This is a rarity but the absence of initial mark from the reverse is a feature that occurs on a number of groats of Henry VII's first and second coinage.
5. The groat with the four-rayed sun. I have found no angel of Richard's with this form of sun. It is the only form of sun found on angels and groats of Henry VII.
6. The groat with the Henry VII style of bust. This bust is not like the bust on any other groat of Richard III that I have seen, but it is very similar to the one used on groats of Henry VII with initial mark Lis-and-Rose dimidiated at about the middle period of his first or open crown coinage.

I have already referred when dealing with the angels to an irregular groat. This coin (no. 16 in my list and no. 14 on **Pl. II**) has all the features of groat no. 3 in my list, except that the obverse initial mark is B.H. 2 where one would expect it to be B.H. 1. The presence of L 1 on the obverse points to its having been struck before the end of the run of B.H. 2. Why such an obverse should have been coupled with an early S. & R. reverse is something for which I can offer no explanation other than that of accident on the part of the workman concerned such as I suggested might have occurred when the "irregular" angels of Mr. Lockett and F. A. Walters were struck. I am unable to give this groat a proper place in my list and have for that reason placed it by itself at the end.

The normal legends on angels read: **RICARD' DI' GR' REX ANGL' & FR'NC (FR'NC, or FR'NC), and PER ARV' (M) TVT' SALVT' NOS XPC' REDEMPT (REDEMP, REDE); ARV' is found on early, ARV' on later, coins. On groats they read: RICARD' DI' GR' REX ANGL' & FR'NC and POSVI DEVM (S) T' DIVTOR / A (S) MEVM, and CIVI / T' S / LON / DON.**

Variations in the placing of the stops and the substitution of double for single saltires are to my mind without significance. The spelling of **ARV' as opposed to ARV' may be compared with TRANSIENS and FR'NCIENS on the nobles of earlier reigns. The presence of saltires after FR'NC and the shorter and longer forms of REDEMPT I look upon as no more than devices for filling the legend space in a seemly manner.**

To sum up, the evidence of the coins shows that the two initial marks of Richard III were used in the following order:

1. Obverse, Boar's Head, Reverse, Sun-and-Rose; coins reading **EDWARD.**
2. Sun-and-Rose both sides.
3. Obverse, Boar's Head, Reverse, Sun-and-Rose; coins reading **RICARD.**
4. Boar's Head both sides.
5. Sun-and-Rose again both sides.

This use of initial marks differs from the commonly accepted view of their function.

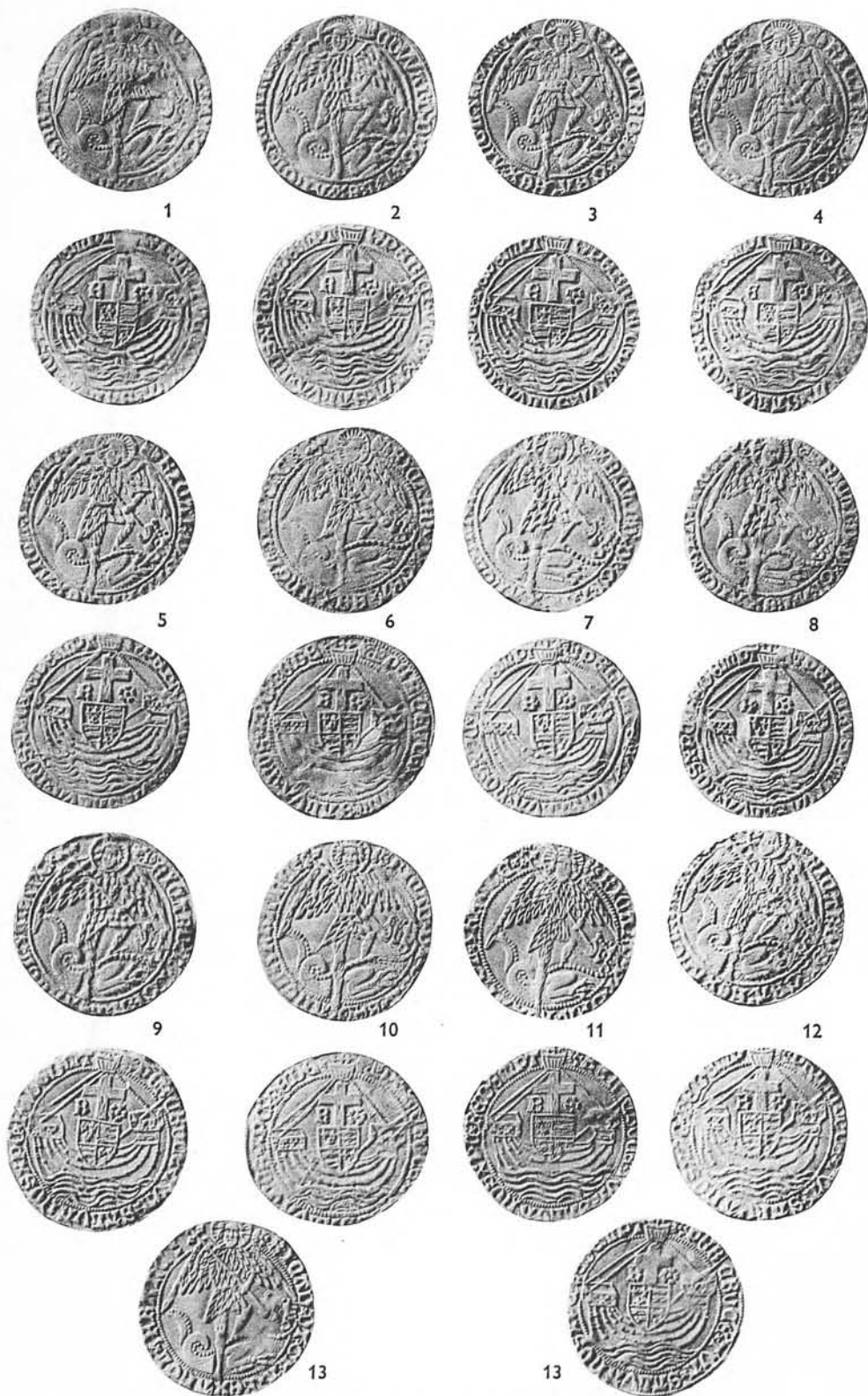
KEY TO PLATE I (ANGELS)

1. S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1	(GDWTRD)	No. 1. British Museum
2. B.H. 1/S. & R. 1	(GDWTRD)	No. 2. British Museum
3. S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1	(RICTRD)	No. 3. Fitzwilliam Museum
4. B.H. 1/S. & R. 1	„ Θ on reverse	No. 4. Ashmolean Museum
5. B.H. 1/S. & R. 1	„ R over Θ	No. 5. E. C. C.
6. B.H. 1/B.H. 2	„ R on reverse	No. 6. R. C. L.
7. B.H. 2/B.H. 2	„ R over rose	No. 7. R. C. L.
8. B.H. 2/S. & R. over B.H. 2	R „	No. 10. Manley Foster 66
9. B.H. 2/S. & R. 2	R on reverse	No. 11. F. O. A.
10. S. & R. 2/B.H. 2	R „	No. 12. R. C. L.
11. S. & R. 2/S. & R. 2	Large Cross on rev.	No. 13. Fitzwilliam Museum
12. B.H. 2/S. & R. 2	Small Cross on rev.	No. 14. R. C. L.
13. S. & R. 2/S. & R. 2	„ „ „	No. 15. Fitzwilliam Museum

KEY TO PLATE II (GROATS)

1. S. & R. 1/S. & R. 1	L 1/L 1, M 1	No. 1. Fitzwilliam Museum
2. B.H. 1/S. & R. 1	L 1/L 1, M 1	No. 3. E. C. C.
3. B.H. 1/B.H. 1	L 1/L 1, M 1	No. 4. E. J. W.
4. B.H. 1/B.H. 2	L 1/L 1, M 1	No. 5. H. W. T.
5. B.H. 2/B.H. 2	L 1/L 1, M 1	No. 6. R. C. L.
6. B.H. 2/B.H. 2	L 1/L 2, M 1	No. 7. E. J. W.
7. B.H. 2/B.H. 2	L 2/L 2, M 1	No. 8. Fitzwilliam Museum
8. B.H. 2/S. & R. 2	L 2/L 2, M 2	No. 9. R. C. L.
9. S. & R. 2/B.H. 2	L 2/L 2, M 2	No. 10. R. C. L.
10. S. & R. 2/S. & R. 2	L 2/L 2, M 2, Pellet below bust	No. 11. E. J. W.
11. S. & R. 2/None	L 2/L 2, M 2, Pellet below bust	No. 13. R. C. L.
12. S. & R. 3/S. & R. ?	L 2/L 2, M 2	No. 14. E. J. W.
13. S. & R. 3/S. & R. 3	L 2/L 2, M 2	No. 15. E. J. W.
14. B.H. 2/S. & R. 1	L 1/L 1, M 1 Irregular issue	No. 16. E. J. W.

Initials refer to the following: F. O. A., F. O. Arnold, Esq.; A. H. F. B., A. H. F. Baldwin, Esq.; E. C. C., E. C. Carter, Esq.; L. A. L., L. A. Lawrence, Esq.; R. C. L., R. C. Lockett, Esq.; H. W. T., H. W. Taffs, Esq.; C. A. W., C. A. Whitton, Esq.; E. J. W., E. J. Winstanley, Esq.



RICHARD III ANGELS



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



ANGELS OF RICHARD III

Obverse				Reverse						Provenance and Remarks
Initial mark	King's name	I 1 or I 2	Die links	Initial mark	Cross	V 1 or V 2	Æ or R	Die links	Legend	
1. S. & R. 1	EDWARD	I 1	..	S. & R. 1	Large	V 1	R over Æ	..	..	B.M. (Pl. I, 1).
2. B.H. 1	"	"	Packe, 61	"	"	"	"	Nos. 3 & 5	..	1. B.M. 2. Montagu ii. 636 (same 2 dies) (Pl. I, 2). Packe coin is Edward IV/V.
3. S. & R. 1	RICHARD	"	..	"	"	"	"	Nos. 2 & 5	..	1. Fitzwilliam (Pl. I, 3). 2. Thellusson, 22
4. B.H. 1	"	"	No. 5	"	"	"	Æ	Rashl. 742	..	Ashmolean (Pl. I, 4). Rashleigh coin is Edward IV/V.
5. "	"	"	No. 4	"	"	"	R over Æ	Nos. 2 & 3, 10 (Roth)	..	1. Drabble, 120 <i>ex</i> Cassal, 224. 2. E. C. C. (same 2 dies) (Pl. I, 5). 3. Roth ii. 207 (S. & R. not yet over B.H. 2 on rev.).
6. "	"	"	..	B.H. 2	"	"	R	..	..	1. Rashleigh, 745. 2. Brooke, <i>English Coins</i> , Pl. xxxiv, 3. 3. E. C. C. 4. R. C. L. (Pl. I, 6). R. C. L. (S. & R. over B.H. 2 on rev. ?) (Pl. I, 7).
7. B.H. 2	"	"	..	"	"	"	R over rose	Nos. 9 (R.C.L.) & 10	..	1. Thellusson, 25. 2. Parsons, 394. 3. Bruun, 521. 4. Wertheimer, 104. 5. R. C. L. Nos. 2 and 4 are from same 2 dies.
8. "	"	"	..	"	"	"	R	No. 9 (Fletcher)	..	1. Fletcher, 44. 2. R. C. L. (same rev. die as no. 7).
9. "	"	"	No. 10	"	"	"	"	Nos. 7 & 8 (Bruun)	..	1. Manley Foster, 66 (Pl. I, 8). 2. Ashmolean (same 2 dies).
10. "	"	"	No. 9	S. & R over B.H. 2	"	"	R over rose	Nos. 5 (Roth) & 7	CRVSEM	

ANGELS OF RICHARD III—(continued)

Obverse				Reverse						Provenance and Remarks
Initial mark	King's Name	I 1 or I 2	Die links	Initial mark	Cross	V 1 or V 2	Æ or R	Die links	Legend	
11. B.H. 2	RICARD	I 1		S. & R. 2	Large	V 2	R	..	REDEMPT	1. F. O. A. (Pl. I, 9). 2. Ashmolean (same dies as no. 1). 3. St. Alban's Find, <i>Num. Chron.</i> 1886, Pl. vii, 5.
12. S. & R. 2	„	I 2	..	B.H. 2	„	V 1	R	..	..	1. R. C. L. (Pl. I, 10). 2. B. M. (Kenyon, no. 3).
13. „	„	„	..	S. & R. 2	„	V 2	„	..	..	1. Fitzwilliam (Pl. I, 11). 2. Ashmolean (same obv. die as 1). 3. Dawnay, 52. 4. Foreign Collector, 67 (Soth. 7.iv.30).
14. B.H. 2	„	I 1	..	S. & R. 2	Small	„	„	..	..	1. R. C. L. (Pl. I, 12). 2. Walters, 1913, 465 (same rev. dies).
15. S. & R. 2	RICAD	I 2	..	„	„	„	„	..	..	1. L. A. L. 2. Bruun, 522. 3. Ashmolean. 4. E. C. C. <i>ex</i> Moon, 83. 5. Bliss, 239 <i>ex</i> Montagu ii. 639. 6. Hilton Price, 67. 7. Grantley, 37. 8. R. C. L. 9. Fitzwilliam (Pl. I, 13).

N.B.—Where several coins appear in the Provenance column, it is because each shows the same features; die identity is specially noted. Angels with S. & R. both sides reading **RICAD** are recorded but not illustrated in Murdoch, 374, Packe, 64, Rashleigh, 747, Ready, 488, and (with rev. B.H.) Walters, 1932, 363.

GROATS OF RICHARD III

Obverse				Reverse					Provenance and Remarks
Initial mark	L 1 or L 2	Die links	Special features	Initial mark	L 1 or L 2	M 1, M 2	Long Cross	Die links	
1. S. & R. 1	L 1	..	..	S. & R. 1	L 1	M 1	Thin	..	1. Fitzwilliam (Pl. II, 1). 2. E. J. W.
2. "	"	..	DEI	"	"	"	"	..	1. R. C. L. 2. E. J. W. (same obv. dies).
3. B.H. 1	"	..	..	"	"	"	Thick	..	1. E. C. C. (Pl. II, 2). Brooke, <i>English Coins</i> , Pl. xxxv, 2.
4. "	"	..	..	B.H. 1	"	"	"	..	1. E. J. W. (Pl. II, 3). 2. Ashmolean. 3. R. C. L.
5. "	"	..	..	B.H. 2	"	"	"	..	1. H. W. T. (Pl. II, 4). 2. E. C. C. 3. R. C. L. 4. A. H. F. B.
6. B.H. 2	"	..	..	"	"	"	Thin	..	1. R. C. L. (Pl. II, 5). 2. A. H. F. B. 3. E. J. W.* 4. Fitzwilliam.
7. "	"	..	..	"	L 2	"	"	..	1. E. J. W. (Pl. II, 6). 2. Fitzwilliam.
8. "	L 2	..	..	"	"	"	"	..	1. Fitzwilliam (Pl. II, 7). 2. R. C. L.
9. "	"	..	..	S. & R. 2	"	M 2	"	..	1. R. C. L. (Pl. II, 8).
10. S. & R. 2	"	No. 11	RRAND (E.J.W.)	B.H. 2	"	"	"	..	1. R. C. L. (Pl. II, 9). 2. E. J. W.
11. "	"	No. 10	pellet under bust	S. & R. 2	"	"	"	..	1. E. J. W. (Pl. II, 10). 2. R. C. L. 3. Fitzwilliam.
12. "	"	..	..	"	"	"	"	..	1. A. H. F. B. 2. E. J. W.
13. "	"	..	Pellet under bust	None	"	"	"	..	1. R. C. L. (Pl. II, 11). 2. C. A. W.
14. S. & R. 3, 4-rayed sun	"	..	..	S. & R.(?)	"	"	"	..	1. E. J. W. (Pl. II, 12). 2. L. A. L.
15. S. & R. 3, 4-rayed sun	"	..	Hen. VII bust	S. & R. 3	"	"	"	..	E. J. W. (Pl. II, 13).
16. B.H. 2	L 1	..	Irregular	S. & R. 1	L 1	M 1	Thick	..	E. J. W. (Pl. II, 14).
17. S. & R. 2	L 2	..	(York mint)	None	L 2	M 2	Thin	(York)	1. Fitzwilliam. 2. R. C. L. 3. A. H. F. B.

THE "EDWARD ROYALL" OF EDWARD VI

IN Part II of the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xxiv, Pl. II, 23, p. 117, was illustrated a half-sovereign of Edward VI with crowned bust and initial mark Bow. The reverse legend reads SCVTVM FIDEI, &c. The coin belongs to Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin, who points out that it is not specifically listed in Brooke's *English Coins*. The student of Edward VI's gold, however, will recognize the obverse, with the crowned king's bust in armour, as being struck from the same die as the coin known to collectors as the "Edward Royall", of which a specimen was illustrated by the late Mr. Henry Symonds in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1914, p. 148; another, from the same pair of dies, was shown in Messrs. Spink's *Numismatic Circular* in March 1923. This coin shows the king's titles on both sides and is listed by Brooke as type III of the half-sovereigns struck at Durham House in 1549-50. But Mr. Baldwin's coin throws a new light on the subject. This, it is now clear, is the true "Edward Royall", a normal coin for the crowned bust, with the king's titles on the obverse and the SCVTVM FIDEI &c. legend on the reverse. It places, moreover, the coin with the king's titles on both sides in its proper perspective. The coin is a mule, showing the obverse of Brooke's type III of the Durham House half-sovereigns with a reverse of his type I or type II which, being coins with the uncrowned bust, have the legends transposed and the king's titles on the reverse.

One minor point arises: the term "Edward Royall" applies to half-sovereigns struck at Durham House under the indenture of January 1549; it may therefore include each and all of the three types. These are, amending Brooke's description (*English Coins*, p. 189):

- I. *Obv.* Uncrowned bust, SCVTVM FIDEI, &c., MDXLVIII.
Rev. Arms, EDWARD VI, &c.
- II. *Obv.* Uncrowned bust, LVCERNA PEDIBVS MEIS VER-
BVM TVVM. *Rev.* Arms, EDW. VI, &c.
- III. *Obv.* Crowned Bust, EDWARD VI, &c. *Rev.* Arms, SCVTVM
FIDEI, &c.

All have initial mark Bow, and are extremely rare.

The phenomenon of the king's titles on both sides of a coin is not unprecedented; it occurs, through a similar transposition of legends and muling, on some half-angels of Edward IV.

C. A. W.

THE COINAGE OF CROMWELL AND ITS IMITATIONS

By D. F. ALLEN

MUCH has been written about the coinage of Cromwell and its imitations,¹ and the facts should be well known, but mistakes continue to be common. The traditional descriptions given to coins of the series in sale catalogues are often wrong and misleading. As the coins are very widely collected, it may be of interest to readers of the *Journal* to have a summary of the facts. No claim is made to originality, but the material has not before been put together in this form.

On 27 November 1656 Thomas Simon received a warrant ordering him to prepare dies for a coinage of the Protector, to consist of 20s., 10s., and 5s. pieces in gold, and 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. pieces in silver. He was to put on the edge of the gold coins "Protector Literis Literae Nummis Corona et Salus", and on the edge of the silver "Has nisi periturus mihi adimat nemo". The coins were to be struck by Peter Blondeau. The original warrant has coloured drawings of the 20s. and 5s. pieces in Simon's hand.²

On 11 December 1656, a fortnight later, Simon received a further warrant amending the design of the silver coinage, and the document bears a different version of the design for the crown, also in Simon's hand.

In accordance with these instructions Simon made dies for the 20s. piece in gold and for the 2s. 6d. in silver, that is, one sample of the type for each metal. Specimens were struck by Blondeau during 1657 but dated 1656. The 20s. piece was struck in gold and in silver, in each case with grained edge. In gold it was also struck on a thick flan with lettered edge as ordered. This very rare variety is now known as the "50s. piece", but there is no contemporary evidence for that name. The coin had to be of this thickness because it was a physical impossibility to strike a 20s. piece of the diameter of the coin shown in the warrant with an adequate lettered edge. The 2s. 6d. piece has the legend on the edge ordered in the earlier warrant and the portrait of the later warrant.

Various records survive from 1657 relating to preparations for a coinage in the Protector's name. There is a bill dated January 1657/8 in which Simon charges for seven "species" of punches and dies for coins of the Protector. The natural explanation is that the seven "species" are the seven denominations ordered in the original warrant, but the surviving coins do not bear this out, as there is no trace of 10s. or 5s. pieces in gold. No pieces are known at all dated 1657 (although it is possible that the figure 8 on the crown die of the next

¹ G. Vertue, *Thomas Simon &c.*, 2nd edn., 1780, pp. 70*-1*. H. Henfrey, *Numismata Cromwelliana*, 1877, pp. 91-154; W. J. Hocking, "Simon's Dies", *Num. Chron.*, 1909, pp. 56-118; T. H. B. Graham, "Cromwell's Silver Coinage", *Num. Chron.*, 1908, pp. 62-79.

² D. F. Allen, "Warrants and Sketches of Thomas Simon", *Brit. Num. Journ.*, xxiii, pp. 39-48, Pl. II.

year, 1658, is altered from 7), but there are silver coins of 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., dated 1658, the dies for which may have been prepared in the previous year. A few specimens of silver coins of this year were struck in gold, but there are no gold coins proper dated 1658. A puncheon for the 10s. in gold, presumably of this year, has survived amongst other puncheons which Simon apparently never used.

To summarize, the genuine patterns of Simon are as follows:

1656	"50s."	In gold and with lettered edge only.
	20s.	In silver or gold; with grained edge only. From the same dies as the "50s." piece.
1658	2s. 6d.	In silver and with lettered edge only.
	5s.	In silver and gold ¹ ; with lettered edge only. Normally distinguished by a flaw running across the bust from the O of OLIVAR to the O of PRO.
	2s. 6d.	In silver and with lettered edge only. Obverse die distinguished from that of the 2s. 6d. of 1656 by reading HIB in place of HI.
	1s.	In silver and gold ¹ with edge grained, and in pewter with edge plain. Distinguished by a flaw from the forehead to the P of RP.
	6d.	In silver with edge grained, and in pewter with edge plain. The wreath touches the A of ANG.

Each of the above is known only from one pair of dies. Simon made puncheons for some additional dies, but there is no evidence, apart from the bill mentioned above, that the dies were completed or coins struck.

All the pieces are normally treated as patterns. Up to the time of Cromwell's death there was every intention of making an experimental issue, but there is no documentary evidence that they were ever put into circulation. It is worth noting, however, that while some of the 1656 types, notably the half-crowns, are practically never found without some signs of wear, those of 1658 are generally in mint condition.² It may be right to conclude from this that the 1656 series, which is by far the rarer, was actually put into circulation.

After Simon's death a number of his puncheons for the coinage of Cromwell appear to have reached the Low Countries. His widow is known to have sold some puncheons, but not necessarily these, in 1676. In the Low Countries the puncheons were used to make a set of false dies, including probably the dies for the well-known "Dutch Crown".³ In 1700 a number of these puncheons and some false dies made from them, but not including the dies for the "Dutch Crown", were bought by the Mint. The false dies were for a 10s. piece in gold and a 1s. and 6d. in silver. All were dated 1658. The reverse of the 10s. dies had been made from a punch intended by Simon for a 6d.

¹ Specimens of the 5s. in gold are recorded in the Montagu, and in the Murdoch (*ex Bieber*) sale catalogues, and of the 1s. in gold in the Murdoch and Wertheimer catalogues. I have never seen specimens in gold, but assume they are genuine, though the 1s. was stated in the Murdoch catalogue to be cast.

² I have to thank Mr. A. H. Baldwin for drawing my attention to this fact.

³ In the illustrations to Hocking's article (*Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. VIII) and in G. C. Brooke's *English Coins* (Pl. LIX) the "Dutch" and "Tanner" crowns have been transposed by mistake. Brooke repeated Hocking's error. In other respects also his list on pp. 236-7 follows traditional lines and is not reliable.

The head, however, was from the puncheon intended for the 10s. piece, but never used by Simon.

No specimens were struck by the Mint from the false dies at the time of acquisition, though some may well have been struck previously in the Low Countries. In 1738 the dies were taken from store and a number of specimens struck. If any pre-1700 specimens survive, they cannot be distinguished from those struck at this time. The officials of the Mint did not realize that the dies were false. The collection did not contain any dies for the 5s. piece in silver, though it did contain puncheons made by Simon himself for the bust and the shield. It was decided, therefore, that John Tanner, the engraver at the Mint, should supply the missing pair of 5s. dies by making new ones from the surviving puncheons. It was also decided to make a new pair of dies from the puncheons for the 10s. in gold, to be dated 1656, although no such coin had been made by Simon, presumably because the existing 10s. die was cracked.

The copies of Simon's patterns of the Protector, all of which are made from Simon's puncheons, should therefore be classified as follows:

A. Tanner's dies, made in 1738

- | | | |
|------|------|---|
| 1656 | 10s. | In gold only, with edge grained or plain. The reverse die is also used with the Low Countries 10s. obverse die described below. |
| | 5s. | In silver only, with edge lettered or plain. Marked by a flaw in the letter P at the bottom to the right, wherever it occurs. |

B. Low Countries' dies, made before 1700

(i) Struck only in the Low Countries

- | | | |
|------|-----|--|
| 1658 | 5s. | In silver and pewter; with lettered edge. Distinguished by an inverted N on the obverse with a serif projecting from the bottom of the right-hand limb. (The "Dutch" Crown.) |
|------|-----|--|

(ii) Some possibly struck in the Low Countries before 1700, most struck in London in 1738

- | | | |
|------|------|---|
| 1658 | 10s. | In gold and bronze; edge plain. Obverse distinguished from that of Tanner's 10s. piece of 1656 by the omission of "&c." This obverse was also used in gold with the reverse die of Tanner's 10s. piece, dated 1656; edge plain. |
| | 1s. | In silver on ordinary and thick flans (the so-called 2s. piece), and in bronze, in all cases with edge plain. Distinguished from Simon's 1s. die by the wreath which divides the P of RP from the A of ANG. The N is inverted. |
| | 6d. | In silver on ordinary and thick flans (the so-called 9d. piece); in both cases with edge plain. Distinguished from Simon's 6d. die by the wreath which points just in front of the P of PRO. |

Owing to the war it has not been possible to check the above in the detail which could have been wished. There may be other combinations of dies and varieties of edges and metals which I have not been able to collect. The above, however, includes all the main varieties. I have not attempted in this paper to deal with the Cromwell farthings, none of which were engraved by Simon.

Neither the Low Countries nor the Tanner dies are particularly creditable specimens of the art of forgery, although the pieces from them fetch higher prices than many of Simon's fine originals. For this reason, if for no better one, Tanner's name should be reserved for the only two pieces in the series, of which he was the author. As Simon himself had occasion to say on the edge of a coin no less famous than these: *RENDER TO CAESAR THE THINGS WHICH ARE CAESAR'S*.

THE CIRCULATION OF SCEATS IN MEROVINGIAN GAUL

By P. LE GENTILHOMME

[In vol. xxiii (pp. 395 ff.) of the *British Numismatic Journal* there appeared an article by M. Le Gentilhomme, inspired by the Sutton Hoo find of coins, on the "Circulation of Merovingian Gold in England". A foreword to the paper stated that neither the fate nor the sympathies of the author were known. Readers will be pleased to hear that M. Le Gentilhomme is alive and well and back at work in the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale. He spent two years in Germany as a prisoner of war. After his release he became a member of the resistance movement and was active in the liberation of Paris. Members will also be glad to know that the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale are intact. They were removed to a place of safety and have not been touched by the Germans. The Council of the British Numismatic Society would like M. Le Gentilhomme to be aware of the wide satisfaction which this information has given in numismatic circles in this country. They hope that contact between numismatists here and in France will speedily be resumed, and on a larger scale than before.]

The following article, translated by the Editor from the *Revue numismatique* of 1938, and reproduced by kind permission of M. Le Gentilhomme, forms an interesting corollary to his former article. Analogous studies on the Anglo-Saxon coinage written since 1938 include those of the late Sir Arthur Evans and of Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1942, pp. 19 ff., 42 ff.).

THE researches of Colonel Belaiew¹ have recently thrown new light on the Frisian origin of several series of Anglo-Saxon silver coins, or at least coins hitherto considered to be Anglo-Saxon. The work of Sir John Evans² and Mlle de Man³ had already done much to advance the study of these pieces. The present moment seems therefore favourable for a systematic examination of the sceattas which appear most frequently in finds of coins in all parts of Merovingian Gaul.

These pieces are little known in France; their rough appearance, their irregular weight, their incoherent inscriptions, or even the total absence of legends, generally cause them to be neglected by numismatists and metrologists alike. The purpose of the present treatise will be to sum up the present state of our knowledge of sceattas, and

¹ Belaiew (N.-T.), "On the 'Wodan Monster' or the 'Dragon' Series of the Anglo-Saxon Sceattas", *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Prague, 1935, vol. vii, pp. 169-86; "On the 'Dragon' Series of the Anglo-Saxon Sceattas", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1937, pp. 35-51 (abridged from the preceding article); "Frisia and its Relations with England and the Baltic Littoral in the Dark Ages", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1931, pp. 190-215; "La Répartition géographique des sceattas" (in Russian with a summary in English), *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 1936, pp. 193-219 (a summary of this work was read at the International Numismatic Congress in 1936). The manuscript of a preliminary catalogue of sceattas preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale has been placed by Col. Belaiew in the Cabinet des Médailles.

² Evans (Sir John), "On a Small Hoard of Saxon Sceattas found near Cambridge", *Num. Chron.*, 1894, pp. 18-28.

³ Man (Marie de), "Sceattas anglo-saxons inédits ou peu connus", *Tijdschrift van het nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, Amsterdam, 1895, pp. 117-46; "Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg?" *ibid.*, 1899; "Considérations sur trois sceattas anglo-saxons identiques . . .", *ibid.*, 1904; *Catalogus der numismatische Verzameling van het zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen*, Middelburg, 1907, 387 pp.; "Over eenige te Domburg gevonden merkwaardige Munten", *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, Amsterdam, 1926, pp. 1-25, Pl. 1.

at the same time to advance that knowledge in the light of the various series whose circulation is revealed by an analysis of hoards in Merovingian Gaul.

It was only at the end of the sixth century, and especially at the beginning of the seventh, that the Anglo-Saxons, following the example of the Franks, issued pieces of one-third of a solidus, or thrymsas, which were copied, more or less freely, from Roman prototypes of the fourth and fifth centuries. These pieces, when not entirely uninscribed, are characterized by their barbarous and usually undecipherable legends, generally consisting of symmetrical groups of letters or strokes. A thrymsa (Fig. 1) copied from a bronze coin of



FIG. 1

Licinius seems to be the prototype of a whole series of degenerate pieces of the type known as the Standard,¹ as we shall presently see. Fairly common in England (nine specimens appeared in the Crondall² find), this tremissis (or third-solidus) is rarer on the Continent. There are, in addition, imitations of a type of solidus of Valentinian,³ themselves copied in London by the usurper Magnus Maximus. A specimen was found in Lorraine⁴ and passed into the Robert collection (Fig. 2).



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

The Anglo-Saxon type with two busts crowned by a figure of Victory is also that of a tremissis of pale gold formerly discovered at Fontenay-le-Comte by MM. Fillon and de Rochebrune;⁵ it is also that of a similar

¹ The type of the Standard doubtless derives from the vexillum on coins of the Constantines with the votive inscription, but must have been influenced by the evolution and degradation of the consecration altar type on the coins of Claudius Gothicus, as shown on the *minimi* found, e.g., at Richborough. Cf. *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* of the American Numismatic Society, no. 80.

² I give here a drawing of a thrymsa preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles. Two varieties of this species, from the Crondall find, are engraved in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1843-4, on the plates illustrating Akerman's article, pp. 171-82. The reverse legend seems to be a degenerate form of DN·LICINI·AVGVST...

³ *British Museum Catalogue: Anglo-Saxon Series* (by Keary), I, London, 1887, p. 2 (this catalogue is still the most complete that has been published of the sceat series); Brooke (George C.), *English Coins*, Methuen, London, 1932, pp. 1-12 (an excellent account); Oman (Charles), *The Coinage of England*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 1-13.

⁴ A drawing is preserved in the papers of Anatole de Barthélemy in the Archives of the Cabinet des Médailles, vol. iii, fol. 282, no. 3299. An identical piece was found at Domburg (Zeeland). Cf. Macaré (C. A. Rethaan), *Tweede Verhandeling over de big Domburg gevonden Munten*, Middelburg, 1856, Pl. II, no. 4.

⁵ Fillon et de Rochebrune, *Poitou et Vendée*, Fontenay, 1861, p. 19.

piece in electrum (Fig. 3), recorded by me in the Bordeaux find,¹ which was buried about the year 680. However, the other side of these coins shows a purely Merovingian type and the name of the moneyer Baudulfus. Now it was in Aquitaine that the two known specimens of this tremissis were discovered, and the nature of their metal and their hybrid character fit in with a period of transition. This leads me to suggest the possible existence of Anglo-Saxon or Frisian trading in this region, as well as of its activity at this time when gold was gradually being replaced by silver in currency. At the end of the seventh century, while the Mediterranean was becoming increasingly a Moslem lake, the West, impoverished by the collapse of the Empire, and the destruction wrought by the barbaric kingdoms, found itself reduced to a narrow economy which was most unfavourable to the extensive trade which once flourished under the *Pax Romana*. That peace had been guaranteed by the army and navy, which were maintained at vast expense by means of the gold levied by the Treasury and which now disappeared, carried off in the turmoil with the registers of the land-survey.

Among the Franks, as among the Visigoths of Spain, the striking of the gold solidus was practically abandoned for that of the third-solidus as early as the time of Justinian. The rare thrymsas issued by the Frisians and the Anglo-Saxons as early as the middle of the seventh century were replaced by deniers of mere silver: the sceattas. This silver coinage was itself preceded by a mixed coinage, of silver more or less alloyed with gold. And in these three phases of the Nordic coinage the type often remains identical.²

The same evolution, produced by the same economic conditions and influenced by the example of the sceattas, can, moreover, be discerned in Merovingian Gaul. In the Bordeaux find, besides the piece of Baudulfus mentioned above, were two tremisses issued at Port-Saint-Père, also of electrum, as well as a third-solidus struck at Rouen, and another anonymous piece of the Royal treasury. The influence of the Nordic peoples shows, therefore, in the ports of Gaul a tendency to establish a silver currency from about the year 680.³ Even at Marseilles, where relations with the East had caused the striking of gold solidi to persist longer than elsewhere, the metal of these pieces from the reign of Sigibert III (633-55) was extremely debased, and the majority of them are of such pale gold that it may often be confused with silver. The debasement of the gold currency and its rarity explain the growing popularity of the silver coins. The preference for the silver standard, better adapted than gold for the modest purchases of a community tied to a narrow economic system, seems, moreover, traditional among the barbarians. The Germans of the time of Tacitus already prized the old Republican denarii, including the serrati, at a time when the imperial coinage was able to supply them with excellent

¹ Le Gentilhomme (Pierre), "Trouvaille de monnaies d'or des Mérovingiens et des Wisigoths, faite à Bordeaux en 1803", *Revue numismatique*, 1936, pp. 87-133.

² Brooke, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³ Le Gentilhomme, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

pieces in both gold and silver. The tomb of Childeric, the father of Clovis, still contained denarii of the Republic and Early Empire, mingled with Byzantine solidi. The Roman merchants were able to manage without a regular gold coinage until the last days of the Republic: silver was sufficient as a medium of exchange; still more easily at the close of the Merovingian period was it to prove adequate for the needs of the travelling pedlars who were for the most part of Frisian origin.

The Frisians,¹ who had given their name to the North Sea, occupied the shores of the Low Countries, between the mouths of the Escaut and the Eider. The Frisian merchants supplied, in addition to the most varied products, chiefly cloths, *pallia frisonica*, the future cloths of Flanders, famous for their durability and fine colours rather than their luxuriousness. Einhart remarks that it was these cloths which clad the Franks, his ancestors. Frisian cloth was, moreover, all that Charlemagne was to be able to offer to the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid. Frisian trade had spread along the coasts of the Baltic, of the North or Frisian Sea, of the Channel, and of the Atlantic. From the time of Dagobert, Frisians visited the fairs of Saint-Denis, where they bartered their merchandise for the spices of the Syrians and the Jews. In England, their activity in London and York is mentioned in the life of St. Ludger, and in the poems of Alcuin. At the end of the seventh century the Frisians profited by the dearth of Oriental goods, and drained the western markets, bringing with them the money which was so convenient for their homely wares—the Anglo-Saxon sceattas.

Among all the Nordic races this word, in Anglo-Saxon *sceat* (plural *sceattas*), in old Frisian *skat*, in German *schatz*, in old Swedish *skāt*, in old Russian *skot*, means treasure or riches, and so by extension the coin which is the standard of them. The code of Aethelberht of Kent (c. 601-4) lays down a table of equivalents: 1 sceat equals 1/20 of a solidus (shilling), but as happens in the majority of these texts, built up and adopted as they have been by successive generations, this must be regarded as an interpolation, for no sceat seems to me to be earlier than 650. About the year 500 Beowulf uses the word *sceattas*, but in the sense of treasure, and the book of the Sagas employs the word *skat* to indicate the wealth represented by Frisian cloth, a standard which, in the barter of the Nordic races, corresponds to live-stock, the *pecunia* of the Latin, which Russians regarded as "live money": *skot jivotny*.²

A study of the hoards buried in Gaul in the first half of the eighth century clearly shows the importance of the activity of these Frisian merchants in France.

At Saint-Pierre-des-Etieux (Cher),³ a find made in 1882 consisted

¹ On Frisia and the Frisians see the monographs of H. A. Poelman, *Geschiedenis van den Handel van noord-Nederland gedurende het merovingische en karolingische Tijdperk*, La Haye, 1908; Boeles (P. C. J. A.), *Friesland tot de elfde Eeuw*, La Haye, 1927.

² Belaiew, op. cit., *Sem. Kond.*, 1935, p. 170.

³ Buhot de Kersers describes this find in his *Bulletin numismatique, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*, vol. xi, 1884, pp. 280 ff.

of 11 sceattas together with a total of 96 deniers of Bourges, Paris, Rouen, Le Mans, Poitiers, and Marseilles, and a tremissis of pale gold, of Banassac. At Plassac,¹ in Gironde, out of a hoard of 170 deniers, a third of which consisted of pieces struck at the mint of Poitiers or of Poitevin copies, the sceattas, 12 in all, appeared in the same proportion to the deniers of Rouen, Paris, and Marseilles. At Bais (Ille-et-Vilaine)² in a hoard of 400 deniers, about 30 sceattas were identified by Maurice Prou, the remainder being deniers divided, in order of decreasing preponderance, between Paris, Rouen, Rennes, Orleans, Marseilles, Sens, Chalon, Le Mans, Limoges, &c. This hoard must have been buried at a date more recent than that of Plassac; this is proved by the more complete Poitevin series of the already Carolingian type (deniers of Betto). In the great hoard of Cimiez³ (Alpes Maritimes), the deniers of Marseilles, whether anonymous (200 specimens) or bearing the names of the patricians Antenor (5 specimens), Ansedert (65 specimens), Nemphidius (1,200 specimens), and Antenor II (102 specimens), were found in such large proportions that we may conjecture with Morel Fatio that this hoard was accumulated in the great port of Provence. Yet nearly 80 sceattas have been identified out of the 300 pieces struck outside Marseilles (chiefly in the valley of the Rhône, in Auvergne, in Paris, and in Chalon). This last hoard seems to have been buried even later than that of Bais, for the Poitevin series is swollen by deniers of Audolenus and Audoramus. The patricians of Marseilles of the first half of the eighth century are represented in the find as well as the bishops of Clermont, Norbert, Proculus, and Bubus; the hoard was doubtless buried in 737, the year of the destruction of Cimiez by the Lombards.

I will now proceed to summarize the different series of sceattas:

I. The coins which in style show the least departure from their Roman prototypes, and which seem for that very reason to have served as a model for the commonest of subsequent degenerative types, have been attributed to the Mercian king Peadar (656-7). This attribution, now disputed, is based on the interpretation of the runes $\mathfrak{P} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{A}$ (Pada) which form the legend on the reverse of these sceattas. On the more elegant of these pieces, which, as Brooke has rightly remarked,⁴ seem to retain a certain percentage of gold in their composition, is found, on the reverse, the Roman type described as the "Standard", with the inscription $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{TOT} \\ \text{XX} \end{smallmatrix}$, already encountered on the thrymsas imitated from the bronze coins of Licinius. The votive

¹ An article by the Marquis de Lagrange who acquired the hoard was published in the *Revue numismatique*, 1851, p. 19. The article has no scientific value. See *Catalogue des monnaies antiques et modernes de feu M. le Marquis de L[agrange]*. Paris, Rollin and Feuardent, Numismatists, Meetings of 19 and 20 Feb. 1877, also *Registre des acquisitions du Cabinet des Médailles*, register K, nos. 2019 ff, 20 Mar. 1877.

² Prou (Maurice) et Bougenot, *Catalogue des deniers mérovingiens de la trouvaille de Bais*. Taken from the *Revue numismatique*, 1906, 1907. Paris, 1908.

³ Morel Fatio (Arnold), *Catalogue raisonné de la collection de deniers mérovingiens des VII^e et VIII^e siècles de la trouvaille de Cimiez*, Paris, 1890.

⁴ Brooke, op. cit., p. 7.

inscription, more or less corrupt, and placed in a beaded square, is perhaps the commonest type found on sceattas. But, to return to the pieces of Peada, who can have reigned for barely two years, these are of very varied types. On certain varieties the inscription $\overset{\text{TOT}}{\text{XX}}$ is replaced by the runes $\text{C} \text{N} \text{M} \text{N}$ (Pada) arranged either in a beaded square, or in a filleted wreath, likewise beaded. On others again the votive inscription is replaced by a cross with annulets in the angles, surrounded by a legend within beaded circles. The Cimiez hoard included three varieties of these coins (Pl. III, 1, 2, and 4) which are scarcely ever found except in England.¹

II. The type of the Standard as it appears on the first variety of sceattas of Peada, that is the beaded square flanked by groups of pellets, is also that of a series of sceattas, fairly common in Kent, on which the effigy on the obverse is a radiate bust with the inscription TIC/A. This name is found appended to a charter² of Ecgbert, king of Kent, about the year 780. It is therefore probable that it is that of the moneyer, and that the moneyer, like his namesake on the charter, lived in Kent. The hoards of Cimiez and Bais (Pl. III, 5 and 6) have each furnished a specimen of this coinage which is rare on the Continent, though several examples have been recovered at Domburg in Zeeland.³



FIG. 4

III. The radiate bust on these pieces is still the type of a very abundant series of increasingly coarse imitations, on which the bust is accompanied by the runic letters EPA, APA, which are in turn degraded to a pseudo-inscription consisting of parallel strokes. Although these pieces have been tentatively assigned to a brother of Penda, king of Mercia, perhaps Eoba or Epa, this style is so degenerate that there is little doubt that these names are merely those of moneyers. On the reverse the Anglo-Saxon Standard type persists (Fig. 4) on a few rare sceattas found at Saint-Pierre-des-Étieux (Belfort 5809) and on the sea-shore at Domburg (Belfort 5810), but on the majority of the pieces found on the Continent the Standard is replaced by the Merovingian type of the cross with a pellet in each of the four angles.

¹ In an earlier article ("Notes de numismatique mérovingienne", *Revue numismatique*, 1937, p. 81), I called the attention of English numismatists to a series of coins in which the style of the bust recalls that of the best sceattas of Peada. All the characteristics of these pieces, starting with the uncertainty of writers as to the nature of their metallic composition, whether gold, electrum, or silver, show them to be sceattas. I have compared the legends on these coins with those on the sceattas of the type showing a bird perching on a cross. On the reverse of several pieces of this series the cross is placed between the letters C A, borrowed doubtless from the Merovingian coins of Chalon-sur-Saône. The coin which I have published came from a find at Rouen.

² Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, 1848, p. 7.

³ Man (Marie de), *Catalogus*, p. 254.

Mlle de Man records 82 specimens of the latter variety of sceattas in the Middelburg Museum, 30 in the Boogaert collection, and another 60 in her own, figures which show the abundance of this currency in Domburg.¹ At Saint-Pierre-des-Etieux (Belfort 5806), at Plassac (Pl. III, 7), at Cimiez (Pl. III, 8 and 9), and especially at Bais (Pl. III, 10-23), these pieces have likewise been found. Whereas the coins with the radiate bust and the Standard type, which are rare on the Continent, seem to be of English origin, the series with the radiate bust and the cross and four pellets should doubtless, as Mlle de Man had suggested, be restored to the inhabitants of Frisia, and perhaps even to their trading settlements on the borders of Merovingian Gaul. In the last days of the Frankish coinage the type with the radiate bust was, in fact, especially popular in Orleans, and even more so in Poitiers, where on certain deniers this radiate bust was degraded into formations of pellets (Prou 2253), approximating to the Anglo-Saxon Standard type (Fig. 5). This type was so widely adopted in Gaul that



FIG. 5

on the deniers of Rennes it reappears to form a surrounding framework for the initial letter **R** of their town (Pl. III, 40). Other sceattas of a hybrid character combine the Standard type with that of the cross and four pellets. They were perhaps struck on the Continent, for they are found at Saint-Pierre-des-Etieux (Belfort 5823), at Plassac, at Cimiez (Pl. IV, 53, 54), and at Bais (Pl. IV, 56), as well as at Domburg (Belfort 5826). The legends on these pieces are barbarous. Sometimes, as on certain Merovingian deniers, the cross seems to be placed upon the letter **A**. Another sceat, from Cimiez (Pl. IV, 55), combines the Standard type with a cruciform motif which recalls also sceattas on the obverse of which is a figure holding two crosses, and some anonymous pieces of Marseilles with the letter **M** or the monogram of Roboam.²

IV. Much the commonest class of sceattas is the uninscribed "Wolf-Standard" type, consisting, through a series of degradations, of a bust with bristling hair on the obverse, and, on the reverse, of a beaded square in which appear the most fantastic deformations of the inscription $\text{VOT} \cdot \text{XX}$. The style of the earlier pieces on which traces of the legend remain is also such that Keary wondered if it were not Merovingian (Pl. III, 24).

A parallel series places the Christian emblem of the cross before the bust. Four specimens of these coins come likewise from Cimiez

¹ Man (Marie de), "Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg?", op. cit., p. 99.

² B.M.C., Pl. IV, no. 20; Morel Fatio, Pl. II, nos. 36 and 37.

(Pl. III, 25-8); another, preserved in the Boulogne Museum, was found at Etaples.¹ Seven similar pieces, found at Domburg, have been placed in the collection of the Middelburg Museum (Belfort 5828). But presently the head degenerates into a mysterious animal with bristling fur in which earlier writers vainly strove to see either a wolf, or else a crayfish, an insect, or even a galley. The Cimiez hoard (Pl. III, 29-32) and the Bais hoard (Pl. III, 34-8) furnished a large number of these sceattas, specimens of which have been found at Nantes,² at Rennes,³ and even at Wiesbaden.⁴ The type is connected with that of the radiate bust with runic inscription; the connexion is revealed by a hybrid sceat in the Stephanik collection (Fig. 6), published in 1895 by Mlle de Man (cf. Belfort 5861).⁵



FIG. 6



FIG. 7

FIG. 8

Another variety of sceattas of the Wolf-Standard type shows the same original head with bristling hair, but the features are replaced by a pseudo-inscription as upon the sceattas of Ethelred (675-94), an isolated example (Fig. 7) of which was found at Domburg,⁶ and on a sceat found at Hallum (Fig. 8), showing on the obverse the legend LVNDONIA surrounding a diademed bust.⁷ At Rouen at Saint-Pierres-des-Etieux (Belfort 5836), at Bais, and especially at Cimiez, this type was abundantly represented (Pl. III, 41-2; Pl. IV, 43-52).

The same find at Cimiez shows another and more curious deformation of these "Wolf-Standard" sceattas: on these pieces the bristling head becomes a bird (Pl. IV, 57-62).

On the sea-shore at Domburg⁸ nearly 500 Wolf-Standard sceattas have been picked up: in 1899 the Middelburg Museum possessed 190 specimens, the Man collection 148, and the Boogaert collection 50. In Frisia⁹ seven-eighths of the Franeker find (410 coins) consisted of

¹ Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, 1852, p. 168, Pl. XLIV, fig. 5.

² *Catalogue du Musée archéologique de Nantes*, no. 779.

³ Le Gentilhomme, "Notes de numismatique mérovingienne", *Revue numismatique*, 1937, p. 82.

⁴ *Revue de la numismatique belge*, 1880, p. 136.

⁵ A specimen of this sceat found on the beach at Domburg was published in 1838 by C. A. Rethaan Macaré, *Verhandeling over de bij Domburg gefondene . . . Munten*, Pl. II, no. 40.

⁶ Man (Marie de), "Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg?", op. cit., p. 101, Pl. VI, no. 4.

⁷ Dirks (J.), "Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers dits sceattas", *Revue de la numismatique belge*, 1870, Pl. c, no. 14.

⁸ Man (Marie de), "Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg?", op. cit., p. 101.

⁹ Dirks (J.), "Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers . . .", op. cit., passim.

this type, the remaining one-eighth being deniers with David's Seal (the Héristal type). In the Hallum find (251 coins) one-ninth consisted of these David's Seal pieces, one-ninth only was of the Wolf-Standard type, and the remainder of the hoard consisted of sceattas of the Wodan-Monster type.

The Wolf-Standard sceattas, like the sceattas with radiate bust and runic inscription, and those with the cross and four pellets, clearly demonstrate the commercial activity of the Frisians on the Continent, where these coins were probably struck in greater abundance than in England, though their types are properly Anglo-Saxon.

V. The various developments of the human head have brought us to the "Bird" type. The Anglo-Saxon die designers seem to have been rather fond of drawing birds; such creatures appear in a rotating cruciform motif on the reverse of a sceat on the obverse of which appear two busts face to face separated by a cross. This is a somewhat rare piece, though a specimen was found at Cimiez (Pl. IV, 63).

A bird perching on a cross between two annulets forms the main type of a series of sceattas of which four specimens were found at Cimiez (Pl. IV, 64-6), at Bais (Pl. IV, 67, 68), at Plassac (Pl. IV, 69), at Saint-Pierre-des-Étieux, and of course in Zeeland and in Frisia, at Domburg (4 specimens in the Middelburg Museum, 6 in the Man collection) and at Hallum¹ (a single specimen in this find). One of these sceattas has recently been found at Utrecht.² These pieces, rare in Frisia, are common in England, especially in Kent.³ On the obverse, the diademed head in a beaded circle is characterized like the majority of its fellow Anglo-Saxon pieces by the bristling hair indicated by strokes and pellets. The legends are undecipherable. The presence of these pieces in hoards found in France would suggest Anglo-Saxon rather than Frisian influence.

VI. This observation applies to other sceattas which are rather rare on the Continent; they show the fantastic monster, guardian of legendary treasures, combined with an obverse whereon two figures are depicted holding a cross, a type borrowed from the coins of the Emperor Heraclius (610-41), or from their Frankish imitations. One of these pieces comes from the Cimiez hoard (Pl. IV, 70).

At Cimiez again (Pl. IV, 71-4) and at Duurstede⁴ were found uninscribed sceattas of the type of Wodan's head and the dragon⁵

¹ Dirks, op. cit., Pl. D, no. 18.

² Report on the excavations of 1934. *Opgravingen op het Domplein te Utrecht*, iii, p. 115, fig. 72.

³ Thus in a barrow on Breach Downs, near Barham, three sceattas of the Bird type were found with two coins with the name of Tica (Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, 1848, Pl. VI, 11-15). Roach Smith also records a small hoard found in the isle of Thanet, at Birchington, which included a sceat of the Bird-on-Cross type (Pl. XXII, 2), one with the king's bust and the runes *Epa* and on the reverse the Standard type (no. 3), and two sceattas with the radiate bust and the cross and four pellets (nos. 4 and 5). The presence of these two latter pieces shows that the distribution of these sceattas is not limited to the Continent, and that though rather rare in England, these pieces were admitted into circulation, side by side with sceattas with the radiate bust and the Standard.

⁴ Dirks, op. cit., Pl. E, no. d.

⁵ Cf. Belaiew, chiefly: *Sem. Kond.*, 1935 and *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1937.

which have their origin in Scytho-Siberian art; in these Colonel Belaiew recognizes a bear. The number of pieces of this type found in Frisia—the Ter-wispel find consisted exclusively of this series—have reasonably led the Russian scholar to suggest a Frisian origin for these sceattas. The absence of these coins in the Frisian find of Franeker, and their appearance in France only in the Cimiez find, incline me to regard this series as one of the latest. Moreover, in the tenth and eleventh centuries imitations of the sceattas of this type were still in circulation in Birka, on Lake Mälär, in the remotest part of the Baltic. Lastly, it may be noted that a considerable proportion of these pieces found at Domburg were struck on copper flans.¹

On an Anglo-Saxon sceat found at Cimiez (Pl. IV, 75) appears a figure with a halo holding two crosses, a Roman type imitated from a bronze coin of the Emperor Phocas (602–10), especially common on the sceattas issued from London; the reverse shows an ornamental type whose dominant motif conveys the illusion of motion with three dolphins² rotating in a whorl reminiscent of the ancient Oriental triquetra.

VII. Finally a very large series of sceattas³ shows the evolution, under the skies of Provence, of a degraded type of Frisian origin comparable to that formed by the so-called Wolf-Standard type both in England and on the Continent. The head which adorns the obverse of these pieces is first a radiate one, then appears with bristling hair terminating in pellets, and finally becomes a crescent and even a ship whose masts may be regarded as formed by the cross placed before the original bust. On the reverse, the field surrounded by a beaded circle is adorned with a long cross fitchy placed upon steps; the cross appears as an inverted omega-like arch between the symbols V/II, which sometimes degenerate into mere strokes (Pl. IV, 76–84). There may have been, according to the theory of Mlle de Man,⁴ some influence from the number on the siliqua, V/II, which appears also on Provençal third-solidi, especially those of Marseilles. This later type appears again on the deniers of Charlemagne struck at Marseilles, as Morel Fatio has pointed out. That the symbols V/II or II/V are more likely to be a degradation of M/A (Massalia) is apparent when we find one specimen which shows the symbols V/II and the very open arch of the omega divided into two letters S as upon the Carolingian coin. If the sceat was not itself struck at Marseilles, it must at least have provided the type of the first Carolingian coin of this town. Now the Cimiez hoard shows that this piece was fairly common in Provence, for 23 specimens are described in the catalogue of Morel Fatio. These deniers, like the majority of sceattas, are uninscribed. Nevertheless

¹ Mlle de Man in her article "Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg?" already quoted, notes at the Middelburg Museum 32 pieces of silver and 16 of copper; in the Boogaert collection, 14 specimens; and in her own collection, 22 pieces of silver and 17 of copper. Cf. *Catalogus*, op. cit. (by the same author), pp. 277–9.

² Keary and several other writers see three wolves' heads with tongues converging towards the centre of the coin. *B.M.C.*, p. 13. Cf. Brooke, p. 9, no. 23.

³ Morel Fatio, op. cit., pp. 26–9.

⁴ Man (Marie de), *Jaarboek* . . ., 1926, Pl. I, no. 16, pp. 23 and 24.

a specimen from the Cimiez find shows traces of an inscription DICIO or BICIO (Pl. IV, 84). Two of these coins were found at Bais (nos. 320 and 321), and two more at Saint-Pierre-des-Étieux (nos. 24 and 25). I am the more inclined to attribute these sceattas to Marseilles since they occur seldom in England or at Domburg.¹

The observations which I have here made on the distribution of sceattas in Merovingian Gaul tend to confirm the results of the researches of Colonel Belaiew. From his conclusions² it appears probable that at the end of the seventh century, when gold began to disappear from circulation, the Frisians made copies in silver of the early types of Anglo-Saxon thrymsas and circulated them along all their trade routes. These sceattas were in the course of time copied in England and on the Continent, but Frisia remained their main source of issue and circulation, as the Frisian finds show.

But the proportion of sceattas found in Merovingian Gaul is sufficient to justify the supposition that numerous Frisian trading settlements existed from which were issued in France either sceattas or deniers imitated from them, as in Brittany, Aquitaine, and Provence. We are also now in a position to indicate more precisely the chronology of the issue of these sceattas, these anonymous pieces, forming a true international currency, which only made their appearance in France at the end of the seventh century, and remained in circulation during the entire first half of the eighth. I propose to fix the years between 680 and 700 as the date when, following the example of the thrymsas which had been reduced to mere sceattas, the Merovingian gold tremisses disappeared and were replaced by the silver pieces.

CATALOGUE OF SCEATTAS

Illustrated on Plates III and IV

I. PEADA

1. Barbarous legend: $\text{O}[\text{T}]\text{I}\text{A}\text{O}/\text{O}[\text{I}]\text{E}\text{N}\text{O}$. Bust to r. in helmet and cuirass.
R. Barbarous legend: $\text{O}[\text{N}]\text{N}\text{N}$. In the centre, in a beaded square TOT/XX.
Cimiez, 334. Electrum. wt. 1.2 gm.
Cf. B.M.C., Pl. IV, 22.
2. Barbarous legend: I . . . O/IIIIIC. Same type of bust, of more degraded style.
R. Barbarous legend: $\cdot\cdot\text{O}\text{T} \text{A}\text{T}\text{O}$. In a beaded wreath NNN .
Cimiez, 333. R. 1.25 gm.
Not in B.M.C.
3. Barbarous legend: ONV/AVNC. Same degraded style of bust; head diademed.
R. $\text{N}\text{N}\text{N}\text{N}\text{A}\text{V}\text{N}\text{A}\text{V}\sim\text{A}\text{V}$. Cross with 4 annulets in a beaded circle.
Original collection of the Cabinet des Médailles. R. 1.05 gm.
Cf. B.M.C., Pl. IV, 23.
4. Variety of the preceding. On the reverse, $\text{N}\text{N}\text{N}\text{N}\text{A}\text{N}$
Cimiez, 335. R. Wt. 0.75 gm. (a fragment).

¹ Man (Marie de), *Jaarboek . . .*, 1926, Pl. I, no. 16, pp. 23 and 24.

² *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, June 30–July 3, 1936, London, 1938*, p. 359.

II. TICA

5. . . TIC/○A○. Radiate bust to r.
 R. Barbarous legend: *·AT+. . . In a beaded square TOT/II.
Cimiez, 317. Æ. Wt. 1·25 gm.
Cf. B.M.C., type 2a, Pl. I, 5.
6. Variety of the preceding.
Bais, 308. Æ. Wt. 1·16 gm.

III. Runes APA or EPA or pseudo-legends

7. Radiate bust to r.; runic characters in front, behind, A.
 3. R. +INOVIVI. Cross and 4 pellets.
Plassac, 243 (K. 2035). Æ. Wt. 1·05 gm.
8. Variety of the preceding, coarser style. On reverse, +IWIO . . .
Cimiez, 318. Æ. Wt. 1·2 gm.
9. Variety of 8. On reverse, +IVΛOΛVI.
Cimiez, 318. Æ. Wt. 1·06 gm.
10. Variety. Obscure marks in front of bust. On reverse, +—MO . . .
Bais, 311. Æ. Wt. 1·32 gm.
11. Variety. On reverse, +·MOM.
Bais, 311. Æ. Wt. 1·22 gm.
Cf. B.M.C., type IIc, Pl. I, 8.
12. Variety. In front of bust, IIII. On reverse, + . . . VΛV.
Bais, 312. Æ. Wt. 1·23 gm.
13. Variety. In front of bust, IIII. On reverse, OVAIO I . . .
Bais, 313. Æ. Wt. 1·31 gm.
14. Variety. On reverse, +·ΛVI . . .
Bais, 314. Æ. Wt. 0·93 gm.
15. Variety.
Bais, 314. Æ. Wt. 1·17 gm.
16. Variety.
Bais, 314. Æ. Wt. 1·22 gm.
17. Variety.
Bais, 315. Æ. Wt. 1·21 gm.
18. Variety, bust to l., completely degraded. On reverse, +VOV.
Bais, 315. Æ. Wt. 0·82 gm.
19. Radiate bust to l. In front uncertain marks.
 R. +ΛVΛOVΛV. Cross and 4 pellets.
Bais, 316. Æ. Wt. 1·28 gm.
20. Radiate bust to r. In front, runes FNF (Afa).
 R. +ΛVNOΛVV. Cross and 4 pellets.
Bais, 317. Æ. Wt. 1·25 gm.
21. Variety.
Bais, 317. Æ. Wt. 1·27 gm.
22. Variety, completely degraded bust. In front, FNF; behind, Λ. On reverse,
 OXN·I·□·V . . .
Bais, 317. Æ. Wt. 1·28 gm.
23. Radiate bust to r. In front, retrograde runes 111, behind, ○A○.
Bais, 318. Æ. Wt. 1·24 gm.

IV. WOLF-STANDARD Series

- (a) 24. Coarse bust to r.; in front, an annulet; a cross on the forehead.
 R. ·I·OIQVOO□□IΛ~. Beaded square with diagonal cross, with
 3 pellets in each angle.
Cimiez, 320. Æ. Wt. 0·85 gm.
Cf. B.M.C., Pl. II, 3 and 14.
- (b) 25. Diademed bust to r. in a beaded circle; in front, a cross.
 R. Beaded square with central annulet with 3 crosslets and a group of 3 pellets.
Cimiez, 319. Æ. Wt. 1·28 gm.

26. Variety: cross Calvary before the bust; on reverse central annulet-with-pellet, flanked by 4 pellets and 4 crosslets. In lieu of legend, a cross between 4 pellets $\bullet\bullet+\bullet\bullet$, on each side of the square.
Cimiez, 319. R. Wt. 1.11 gm.
 Cf. B.M.C., type 3a, Pl. II, 1.
27. Variety.
Cimiez, 319. R. Wt. 1.2 gm.
28. Variety without cross on obverse, degraded bust, pellets in field.
Cimiez, 319. R. Wt. 0.9 gm.
- (c) 29. Bust transformed into a beast with bristling fur.
 R. Beaded square; in the centre, votive inscription of which remain only central O and vague marks.
Cimiez, 321. R. Wt. 1.21 gm.
 Cf. B.M.C., type 4, Pl. II, 4 and 5.
30. Variety.
Cimiez, 321. R. Wt. 1.13 gm.
31. Variety.
Cimiez, 321. R. Wt. 1.41 gm.
32. Variety.
Cimiez, 321. R. Wt. 0.77 gm.
33. Variety.
Cimiez, 323. R. Wt. 1.25 gm.
34. Variety.
Bais, 309. R. Wt. 1.31 gm.
35. Variety.
Bais, 309. R. Wt. 1.23 gm.
36. Variety.
Bais, 309. R. Wt. 1.28 gm.
37. Variety.
Bais, 309. R. Wt. 0.82 gm.
38. Variety.
Bais, 309. R. Wt. 1.28 gm.
- Sometimes the beaded square is replaced by a cruciform design:
39. Variety of 29 on obverse.
 R. In a beaded circle, cruciform design with annulet-with-pellet in centre as on most of the preceding. The annulet must be a relic of the votive inscription.
Cimiez, 39. R. Wt. 1.2 gm.
 Cf. B.M.C., type 53, Pl. IV, 19.
40. Monstrous head to l. in a beaded circle.
 R. V V[V V]. The letter R and several pellets in a beaded border.
Cabinet des Médailles (ex Ponton d'Amécourt collection). R. Wt. 1.3 gm.
 This piece demonstrates how the Standard type passed into currency on the Continent and how the sceattas may be confused with the Frankish deniers. The specimen here illustrated may be compared with a variety occurring in the Rouen find and noticed in my *Notes de numismatique mérovingienne*, p. 81, no. 20, Pl. IV, no. 21. Two analogous varieties were found in the Bais hoard (nos. 56 and 57 in the catalogue), which would tend to confirm the attribution of these pieces to Rennes, an attribution based not unreasonably on a comparison between these coins and a *triens* of Rennes (Belfort, 3736), on which the field on the reverse is occupied by the letter R followed by two pellets.
- (d) 41. Head with bristling hair, the face composed of strokes forming pseudo-inscription.
 R. In a beaded circle, a beaded square with TOT/II; above the square, a cross.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 1.01 gm.
 Cf. B.M.C., type 5, Pl. II, 6 and 7.

42. Variety, on reverse, in the field four I.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 1.05 gm.
43. Variety, letters of the inscription in square variously scattered.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 0.82 gm.
44. Variety.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 0.89 gm.
45. Variety, with inscription TOT/VX.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 0.85 gm.
46. Variety.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 1.14 gm.
47. Variety, with inscription TOT/LX.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 1.34 gm.
48. Variety, of coarser style, with inscription •O•/VLJ.
Bais, 309. R. Wt. 1.12 gm.
49. Variety, on reverse, around central annulet two crosslets, and two crescents with pellets.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 1.22 gm.
50. Variety, on reverse beaded square within a second square containing annulet and 4 pellets.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 1.25 gm.
51. Variety.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 1.13 gm.
52. Variety, on reverse, annulet in beaded square with four Λ.
Cimiez, 322. R. Wt. 0.95 gm.
- This variety of the Standard type is repeated on a piece belonging to a muled series in which the obverse type (cross and 4 pellets, sometimes standing upon A) seems to be of Merovingian origin.
- Cf. *B.M.C.*, type 8, Pl. II, 10 and 11.
53. Traces of a legend . . . OV Cross and 4 pellets.
R. Beaded square containing annulet with four Λ.
Cimiez, 324. R. Wt. 1.3 gm.
- Cf. *B.M.C.*, Pl. II, 10 and 11.
- With this piece I connect the following:
54. Uninscribed variety, cross placed upon Λ.
R. Central annulet becomes a wheel, between 4 strokes parallel to the sides of the beaded square.
Cimiez, 324. R. Wt. 1.28 gm.
55. Floral cruciform design, the stamens surrounded by a pseudo-legend formed of letters X and V symmetrically arranged.
R. Square, in the centre an annulet with two dots and four V.
Cimiez, 332. R. Wt. 0.95 gm.
56. bV Crosslet; below, in exergue, :A:.
R. Beaded square, in the centre, an annulet with four Λ.
Bais, 310. R. Wt. 1.1 gm.
- (e) 57. On obverse, the bristling bust has become a bird. Beneath the head a pellet.
R. Beaded square with inscription TOT/II.
Cimiez, 323. R. Wt. 1.05 gm.
- Cf. *B.M.C.*, type 6, Pl. II, 8.
58. Variety, below bird's head, a crosslet. Around the central annulet in beaded square four letters X separated by pellets.
Cimiez, 323. R. Wt. 1.26 gm.
59. Variety, below bird's head, annulet-with-pellet.
Cimiez, 323. R. Wt. 1.04 gm.
60. Variety, below bird's head, a crosslet. Around the central annulet in beaded square, four strokes and two groups of three pellets.
Cimiez, 323. R. Wt. 1.25 gm.
61. Variety, below bird's head, annulet with pellet; on reverse, central annulet

with annulets in each corner separated by two groups of two or three pellets,
Cimiez, 323. R. Wt. 1.25 gm.

62. Variety, on reverse, annulets in each corner separated by groups of three pellets.
Cimiez, 323. R. Wt. 1.14 gm.

V. BIRD TYPE

- (a) 63. Two busts face to face, separated by long cross calvary with forked base.
R. Cruciform design in which four birds are rotating clockwise, around four pellets placed crosswise.
Cimiez, 329. R. Wt. 0.82 gm.
Cf. *B.M.C.*, type 37, Pl. III, 28 and 29.
- (b) 64. Diademed head to r. with bristling hair, in a beaded circle (sometimes appearing as a serpent devouring its tail).
R. Bird upon a crosslet with annulets on three of its arms; around, a beaded circle.
Cimiez, 326. R. Wt. 1.25 gm.
Cf. *B.M.C.*, type 27b, Pl. III, 11 and 12.
65. Variety. On reverse, bird perched on long cross fitchy, with annulets at sides; in the field, three pellets.
Cimiez, 323. R. Wt. 0.92 gm.
66. Variety. In front of head, to r., three pellets.
Cimiez, 323. R. Wt. 1.3 gm.
67. Variety with traces of legend on both sides of coin; the bird perched on a crosslet between two annulets, a pellet beneath the bird's neck.
Bais, 319. R. Wt. 1.25 gm.
68. Variety. Below bird's neck, four pellets.
Bais, 319. R. Wt. 1.29 gm.
69. Variety. Below bird's neck, three pellets.
Plassac, 375. R. Wt. 1.29 gm.

VI. WODAN-MONSTER TYPE

- (a) 70. Two figures each holding a cross, in a beaded circle.
R. Fantastic creature to l., looking back, in a beaded circle.
Cimiez, 330. R. Wt. 1.27 gm.
- (b) 71. Radiate head of Wodan facing, with beard and moustache; in field, three pellets.
R. In a beaded circle, fantastic beast (bear) walking l., in field, several pellets.
Cimiez, 328. R. Wt. 1.37 gm.
72. Variety.
Cimiez, 328. R. Wt. 1.32 gm.
This variety does not appear in *B.M.C.* Cf. Ruding, Pl. I, 26, and Mlle de Man, *Tijdschr.*, 1895, Pl. I, 13 and 14.
73. Head of Wodan facing, bristling hair and beard, three annulets in field.
R. In a plain circle surrounded by a beaded circle, a monster moving to l., but looking back.
Cimiez, 327. Billon. Wt. 1.03 gm.
74. Variety with two crosslets in field on obverse.
Cimiez, 327. Billon. Wt. 1.14 gm.
Cf. *B.M.C.*, type 31, Pl. III, 18 (type of the Hallum and Ter-wispel finds).
- (c) 75. Facing figure holding two crosses; in field, to l., a flower.
R. Triquetra formed of three monstrous heads or perhaps three dolphins.
Cimiez, 325. R. Wt. 0.69 gm.

VII. Type with V/II

76. Radiate head to l.; in front, a cross.

R. Two-barred cross placed on steps; at sides V/II. The upper bar of cross forms an inverted omega \mathfrak{M} .

Original collection, Cabinet des Médailles.

Æ. Wt. 1.2 gm.

77. Variety of coarser style, hair formed by strokes and pellets.

Cimiez, pl. vi, 108.

Æ. Wt. 1.3 gm.

78. Variety of preceding, head to r. On reverse V/II. Saint-Remy-de-Provence (coll. Rolland).

Æ. Wt. not given

79. Variety of careless style.

Cimiez, pl. vi, 105.

Æ. Wt. 0.92 gm.

80. Variety.

Cimiez, pl. vi, 106.

Æ. Wt. 0.94 gm.

81. Variety.

Cimiez, pl. vi, 109 (var.).

Æ. Wt. 1.12 gm.

82. Variety with, on reverse, II/II.

Cimiez, pl. vi, 112 (var.).

Æ. Wt. 0.88 gm.

83. Variety.

Cimiez, pl. vi, 114 (var.).

Æ. Wt. 1.11 gm.

84. Variety with, on obverse, traces of legend . . . ICIO.

Cimiez, pl. vi, 118.

Æ. Wt. 1.24 gm.

N.B.—Unless otherwise stated, all the sceattas described above are in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The Circulation of Merovingian gold coins in England.

In the South-East of England, in Kent, at Sarre for example, Byzantine imitations, particularly those issued by the mints of Provence at Arles & especially Marseilles, appear frequently in finds. But coins issued after the reign of Clotaire II (613-28) are rare; it would seem that trade with Mediterranean ports was unusually restricted. At the time of Dagobert (628-38) and Clovis II (638-56) numerous isolated finds reveal the fresh activity of the Austroasian mints of the valleys of the Moselle and Meuse - Metz, Marsal, Verdun and Neufy - at the same time as that of the Paris mint. The Mediterranean centre of trade loses the rôle of prime importance which it played in Roman times. The economic revival, which is revealed at that time in Merovingian Gaul by the multiplication of rural mints and the innumerable monastic foundations, is undoubtedly the cause.

Two important finds deserve to be commented upon for the light which they throw on the history of trade between Merovingian Gaul and England towards the middle of the 7th century.

The first discovery was made on the 9th August 1939 at Sutton Hoo, near Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk.

The Anglo-French press was very concerned as to the question of ownership of this treasure which successful diggings in a tumulus, up to then untouched, had brought to light. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Derek Allen, attached to the Naval Department of the British Museum, I have been able to obtain a certain amount of information about the find - the latter entering the British Museum only to disappear at once into a safe until the end of hostilities. With the remains of a boat were found funeral furnishings of the greatest magnificence: several silver dishes of which one bore the stamp of the Emperor Anastasius^{C. 500}, two bracelets, the buckle of a belt and the clasp of a purse in enamel and gold. The purse had been full, since forty coins or monetary discs were collected. Now, these coins are exclusively Merovingian.

The find consists of coins issued by the following mints: Dinant and Huy on the Meuse; Andernach on the Rhine; Paris, Troyes, Chantilly and Leon, in the valleys of the Seine and Oise, Angers in the Loire valley; Banassac in Gevaudan, Rodez and Bordeaux whose port was the great market of the cities of Aquitaine; the Rhone Valley cities

The find made in Autumn 1828 at Goudall (Hants), a little to the west of Aldershot, is not well known, being still in Hampshire, jealously guarded in a private collection, that of Lord Grantley. About a score of Merovingian coins from Metz, Narsal, Neuvy, Paris, Rodez, Chalons, Quentovic and Amiens mingled with about eighty Anglo-Saxon or Friesian coins, are evidence of close commercial intercourse with the continent. The Merovingian coins of this treasure go back in the same way to the reign of Clovis II: witness the "triens" of Eligius in Paris, of Sigebertus, attached to the School in the reign of this King at Amiens, and that of Chalons, with the cross on two degrees and a globe, a type characteristic of the second quarter of the 7th century. But the Anglo-Saxon coins already eliminate the Merovingian monetary values. The Byzantine imitations and the products of the mints of Provence, with the exception of a barbarous "triens" of Phocas, have ceased to circulate. On the other hand there appear nine "thrymsas" with the votive inscription which later becomes the model for the familiar type of "scealtas" with the standard; twenty-one "thrymsas" with barbarous bust and trident;

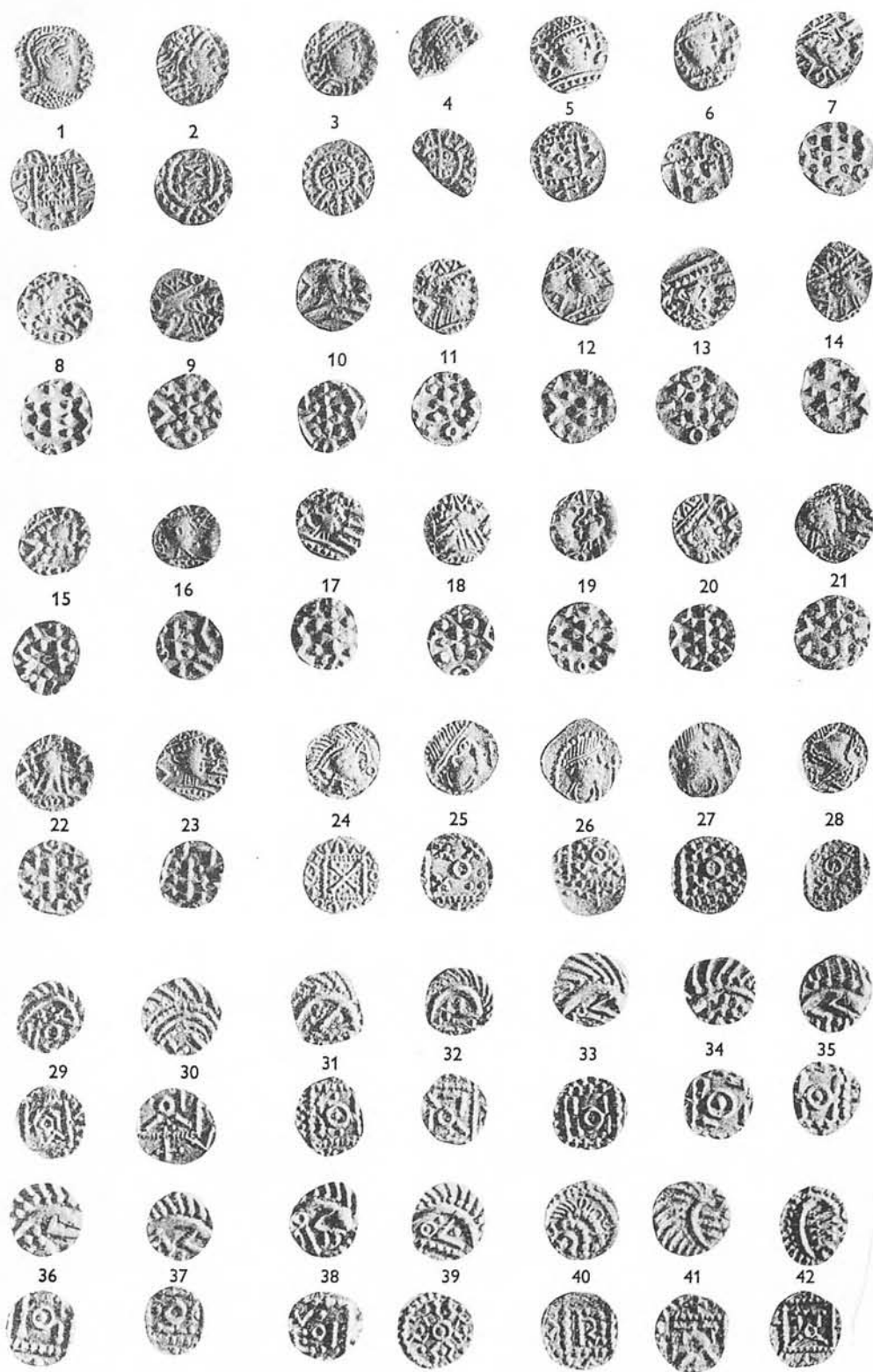
of Sion, Valence and Arles as well as the neighbouring city of Uzès, la Tré'mouille, Usson and Montignac in Poitou and Limousin, are equally represented. The activity of these last mints and the presence of the so-called anchor-cross on the coins of Saint Etienne of Bordeaux, of Laon of la Tré'mouille of the treasury and on certain indeterminate coins, indicate the reign of Clovis II (638-56) characterised exactly by the distribution of the rural mints and the inclination for this type of cross. About ten coins could not be identified; also, as often happens the find contains three monetary pieces not minted. It should be noted that the "triens" of the mints of Provence, although furnishing a slight contribution, had been already a long time in circulation: these were indeed the coins of Maurice-Tibère (582-602). It is certainly difficult to assess the exact date of the burial of the treasure. For my part, I am inclined to think that it was during the first part of the reign of Clovis II, since the type of anchor cross does not yet predominate on the coins issued in Neustrie and Aquitaine.

3

six "thrymsas" with the head and the name of London, eight coins with bust between two palms; one coin of the type AUDVALD REGES; one Frisian coin attributed by old writers sometimes to Lyon and sometimes to Leyden; a certain number of indeterminate coins and finally three monetary discs not minted as at Sutton Hoo. The disappearance of the coins of Provence, the appearance of frequent Anglo-Saxon values, the new and great activity of the port of Quentovic represented by seven coins from the mint of Duttæ lead us to believe that the Merovingian coins were buried at a period considerably later than the issue of the majority of them: towards the end or even some years after the death of Clovis II.

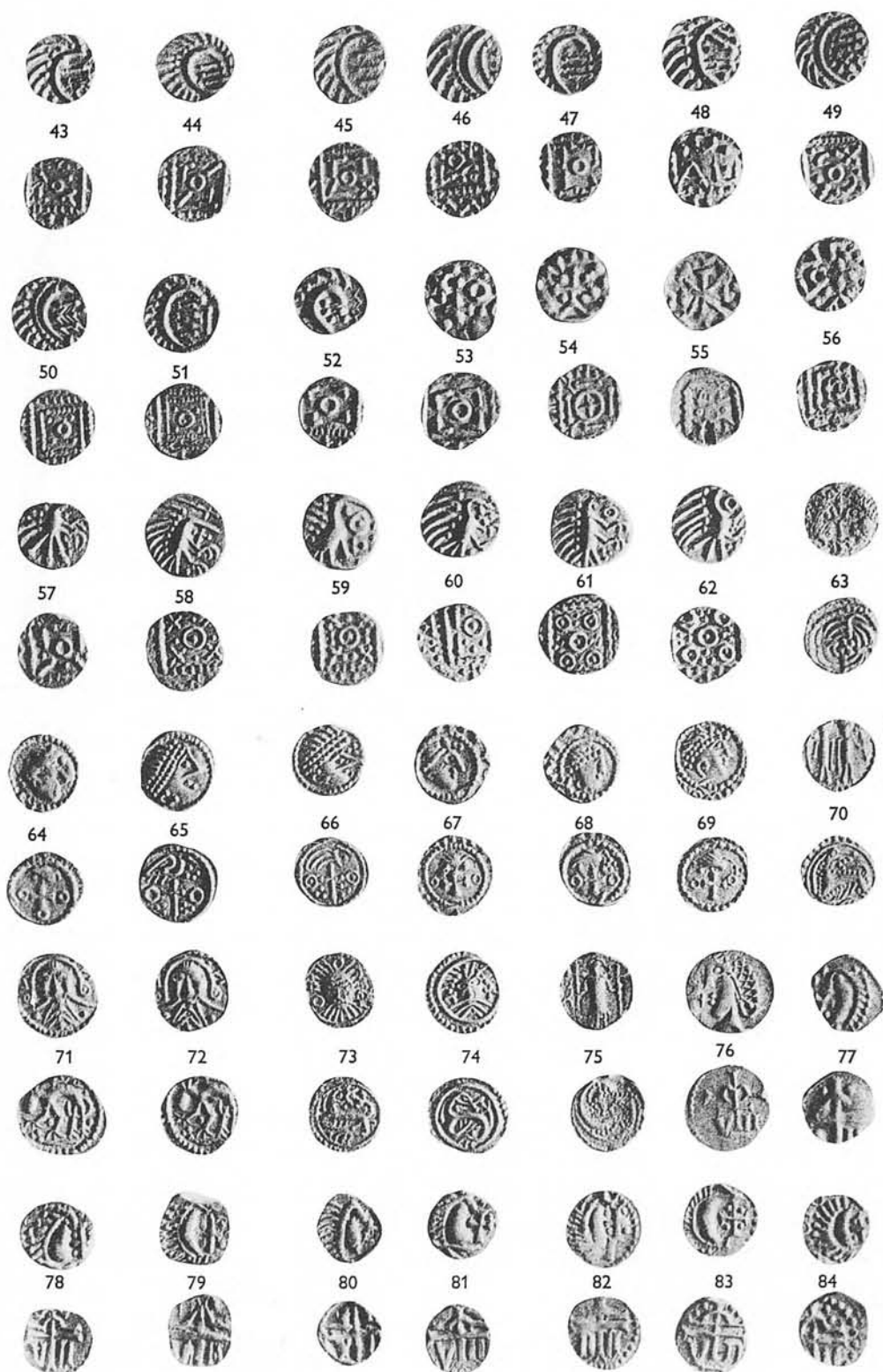
The discovery of 1939 suggests that until about 650 the monetary circulation in England consisted of coins at first exclusively byzantine and from Provence giving place afterwards to issues from the mints of the different divisions of the "regnum Francorum". Some little time after 650, but only then, the Merovingian coinage was submerged by the wave of Anglo-Saxon coins, issued principally in Kent and the countries south of the Thames. The proposition affirming the existence of "thrymsas" at an earlier date than 650 does not seem acceptable to me,

for if the Merovingian coins and their most barbarous imitations were circulating North of the Thames there was no reason to disparage the "thrymear" and to oppose their appearance. If they are not represented in a find as plentiful as that of Sutton Hoo, it is because they did not yet exist. Far from burying in the tumulus coins which were old and no longer in circulation, they left in the dead man's purse some discs which were not yet minted and the only money in circulation at that time; the Merovingian currency.



SCEATS FOUND IN FRANCE

(By courtesy, from the *Revue numismatique*, 1938)



SCEATS FOUND IN FRANCE
(By courtesy, from the *Revue numismatique*, 1938)

OBITUARY

MR. HUGH DAKERS *and* CAPT. COLIN DAKERS

THE death of Mr. Hugh Dakers on 6 February 1945 robs the Society of one of its most faithful officers of recent years. The death of Capt. Colin Dakers, his son, as now officially reported, on 14 February 1942, takes from the numismatic world someone who would almost certainly have made a considerable mark on it had he lived.

Mr. Hugh Dakers, by career a master at Manchester Grammar School, was an expert on Scottish coins which he had collected all his life. Latterly he and his son had collected jointly and the combined collection contained a very fine series indeed of Scottish coins. Capt. Colin Dakers, who was in the Colonial Service, was also interested in various series of oriental coins; his activities in connexion with Scottish numismatics were confined to his comparatively rare periods of leave. He was, however, an enthusiast.

Mr. Hugh Dakers, who had been at the same college at Oxford as myself—Magdalen—was particularly hospitable to me in the two years preceding the outbreak of war. I had the pleasure of visiting him a number of times at his home in St. Albans and of seeing his coins; I know that a number of other members who had the same privilege will have similar pleasant and grateful memories.

The father served on the Council of the Society from 1930 onwards. He became Librarian in 1936 and continued to hold that office until shortly before his death. It was he who arranged for the removal of the Society's library to storage at St. Albans during the war. He was also responsible for the purchase of a large part of the furniture now belonging to the Society when the premises were removed to 21 Bedford Square. He contributed two papers to the Society's journal; first, in volume xxi on 'Initial Letters in the Field on Scottish Coins', secondly, in volume xxiii, on 'The First Issue of David II'.

Mr. Hugh Dakers was deeply attached to his son, and the knowledge that he was missing in Singapore hastened his death. His widow died on 4 March 1946. The Society will wish to extend a very sincere measure of sympathy to Mrs. Colin Dakers and her daughter in their tragic loss.

D. F. A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1943-4

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-19	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS— <i>till 22 June</i>
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS— <i>from 28 June</i>
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.— <i>till 20 February</i>
1928	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.— <i>from 22 February</i>
1929-32	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
1933-7	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938-43	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science".

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

Medallists

1910	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911	MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917	L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1923	H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
1926	GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
1929	J. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
1932	CHARLES WINTER
1935	RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON
1938	WILLIAM C. WELLS
1941	CUTHBERT A. WHITTON, B.A.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1943

President: H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. BAGNALL; A. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.R.C.S.; E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P.; MISS H. L. FARQUHAR, F.R.HIST.S.; H. H. KING, M.A.; R. C. LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.

Director: E. J. WINSTANLEY, L.D.S.

Treasurer: A. G. WRIGHTSON, B.A.

Librarian: H. J. DAKERS, M.A.

Secretary: T. M. TURNER, B.A.

Council: D. F. ALLEN, B.A.; F. O. ARNOLD, M.A., M.D.; A. H. F. BALDWIN; MAJOR C. E. BLUNT, F.S.A.; L. CABOT BRIGGS; J. B. CALDECOTT, F.S.A.; J. DAVIDSON, M.B., CH.B., F.S.A.(SCOT.); LT.-COL. C. L. EVANS; COL. M. H. GRANT; LORD GRANTLEY, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.; H. P. HALL; L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.C.S.; H. A. PARSONS; A. C. STRAND.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 JANUARY 1943

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. Norman Griffiths, of 27 High Street, Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent, was elected a member of the Society.

The Treasurer presented the accounts for 1941-2 together with his report.

The thanks of the Society were recorded to Col. Grant, Miss Farquhar, Dr. Carter, and Major Blunt for donations during the year.

Exhibitions

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY exhibited the following coins of Henry VIII:

1. A Canterbury half-groat by the second (Wolsey) coinage of Warham without the usual initials by the shield.
2. Two sovereign pennies with the rare I.M. Castle.

Paper

MR. E. C. WINTER read the first of two papers on "The Manufacture of Coins". He explained in detail, with drawings and exhibits, the processes and technicalities involved.

ORDINARY MEETING

24 FEBRUARY 1943

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. Winter, owing to illness, was absent and unable to read the second part of his paper on "The Manufacture of Coins", and no formal meeting was held.

The President exhibited on behalf of the Red Cross Society a Victoria Cross awarded to Pte. Samuel Parkes, 4th Light Dragoons.

ORDINARY MEETING

24 MARCH 1943

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Sir Charles Oman was elected an honorary member of the Society.

MR. E. C. WINTER gave his second talk on "The Manufacture of Coins".

ORDINARY MEETING

28 APRIL 1943

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair**Exhibitions*

MR. A. E. BAGNALL exhibited the following coins of Charles I:

One Pound piece of 1642 with chequered exergue.

Shrewsbury-Oxford Half-pound, 1642.

Crown, I.M. Crown.

Half-crowns, with I.Ms. Horizontal Anchor, and Lion.

Shilling, with I.M. Lion.

MR. H. H. KING exhibited a brass coin-weight for 36 shillings.

Paper

MR. T. M. TURNER read a short paper on "Some aspects of English Coin-Design".

ORDINARY MEETING

26 MAY 1943

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. J. Clifford Thompson, of 16 King George V Avenue, King's Lynn, was nominated for membership and his papers were suspended.

Exhibitions

The remainder of the evening was devoted to a special exhibition of the coins of Henry VIII.

MR. R. C. LOCKETT exhibited sixteen testoons, and a number of other coins, some of them unpublished.

MAJOR C. E. BLUNT exhibited groats and smaller coins.

Some of Mr. Lockett's coins are illustrated in this volume of the *Journal*.

THE PRESIDENT exhibited angels of Henry VII and Henry VIII and silver coins of Henry VIII.

MR. A. E. BAGNALL exhibited an angel with I.M. Portcullis, a testoon with I.M. Annulet-with-Pellet, and a number of groats and half-groats.

DR. E. C. CARTER exhibited also three Exeter half-crowns of Charles I:

1. Undated, as R. C. Lockett, no. 19, with garniture inverted.
2. Undated, similar with variations of stops.
3. 1645, with large lions in shield, cf. Lockett, Pl. VI. 51.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 JUNE 1943

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. J. Clifford Thompson was elected a member of the Society.

Mr. W. J. Potter, of 36 Esmond Road, London, W. 4, was nominated for membership and his papers were suspended.

Exhibitions

DR. F. O. ARNOLD exhibited: 1. Henry VII angel of the first issue, with I.M. obverse Sun-and-Rose, reverse Lis-and-Rose, or perhaps Lis over Sun-and-Rose. 2. Henry VII York penny of Rotherham, with I.M. Sun-and-Rose and T and trefoil by bust (*ex* Clarke-Thornhill collection).

DR. E. C. CARTER exhibited six shillings of Charles I of York.

MR. ALBERT BALDWIN exhibited a mule penny of classes VII/VIII of William I, reading on the reverse FOLCIIIIRD ON ÐT1 (Thetford); cf. Brooke, *Norman Kings*, ii, p. 92, no. 495.

Papers

Mr. Winstanley and Mr. Turner read two short papers by MR. C. A. WHITTON: first, "A note on the Post-Treaty nobles of Edward III". This paper is published in Part II of this volume of the *Journal*; secondly, "A Note on the terms Mint mark and Initial mark" with reference to Mr. Carlyon-Britton's recent note on the same subject in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. A reply by Mr. Carlyon-Britton was also read.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 OCTOBER 1943

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

The Secretary announced with regret the deaths of the following members:

Lord Grantley.

Col. Sir Henry Bowles, Bt.

Philip Ziegler Esq.

The following candidates were nominated for membership and their papers suspended: Mr. E. Streeter, The Clock House, Church St. and Lombard St., Petworth, and Mr. H. Holmes, 3 Worcester St., Barrow-in-Furness. Mr. W. J. Potter was elected a member of the Society.

The evening was devoted to a special exhibition of early British and Anglo-Saxon coins. The following pieces were shown:

By THE PRESIDENT, three gold staters and seven silver or billon pieces; a series of pennies from Aethelbearht to Harold II.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL, a fine series of Anglo-Saxon coins from Ecgberht to Harold II.

By MR. H. H. KING, twenty Anglo-Saxon pennies from Æthelred II to Harold II showing several rare mints and varieties.

By MR. T. M. TURNER, a silver coin of the Iceni, a bronze coin of Tasciovanus, and an unpublished Pax penny of Colchester of William I, found in Colchester in 1943, reading:

+PILLELMREX and +PIILFRIC ON COLE $\frac{\pi}{P} \frac{X}{S}$

By MR. J. CLIFFORD THOMPSON, groats of Edward IV and Richard III, part of a hoard found at Wymondham, Norfolk, some time between 1895 and 1905. The fate of the bulk of the hoard, believed to comprise between 200 and 300 coins, is unknown.

ORDINARY MEETING

30 NOVEMBER 1943

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

It was not possible to transact the business of the Annual Meeting owing to the absence of a quorum for the Council.

Messrs. E. Streeter and H. Holmes were elected members of the Society.

Exhibitions

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY exhibited for Mr. C. A. Whitton a Leaf-Mascle half-groat of Henry VI of the Calais Mint. This coin is described and illustrated in Part II of this volume of the *Journal*.

MR. NORMAN GRIFFITHS exhibited a forgery of a half-crown of Charles I with I.M. Triangle.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 JANUARY 1944

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. J. Wallace, of the Manor House, Uppingham, Rutland, was nominated for election and his papers were suspended.

The election of Officers and Council for 1944 took place, Messrs. King and Davidson acting as scrutators. There was no change save for the office of Librarian of which Mr. Dakers wished to be relieved, owing to ill health. Mr. Winstanley's offer to replace him temporarily was accepted. The Council's 39th Annual Report was presented. The Council announced with regret the deaths of:

Lord Grantley, J.P., F.S.A.

Col. Sir Henry Bowles, Bart.

Philip Ziegler, Esq.

The Council welcomed the following new members:

Norman Griffiths, Esq.

J. Clifford Thompson, Esq.

H. Holmes, Esq.

W. J. Potter, Esq.

E. Streeter, Esq.

Exhibitions

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY exhibited the following coins of Henry VII: an open crown half-groat of London, of the first coinage with unbroken tressure, an unusually fine half-groat of Morton, an arched crown penny of Canterbury, and two halfpence with I.M. Pheon.

Paper

The Secretary read a paper by MR. W. C. WELLS on "Coins struck by the Moneyer Walter or Waltier in the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I". In connexion with the paper the President exhibited a MS. volume dealing with and illustrating coins of the period which had belonged to the late Mr. W. J. Andrew. The volume will ultimately become the property of the British Museum.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 FEBRUARY 1944

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. J. Wallace was elected a member of the Society. Mr. Horace Hird, of Fern Royd, North Park Road, Bradford, Yorkshire, and Mr. Bert Clarke, of "Bennington", School Lane, Bapchild, Sittingbourne, Kent, were nominated for membership and their papers were suspended. The evening was devoted to a special and very successful exhibition of coins struck between 1066 and 1154. The following coins were exhibited:

By THE PRESIDENT, some eighty coins, including one of Matilda of the Bristol Mint.

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL, a fine series of pennies of the rare Hereford Mint, including seven Pax pennies of William I, three of Henry I, and four of Stephen.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN, eight pennies of rare or irregular issues, including a William I penny of Thetford (a mule of types VII/VIII), a William II penny of type I of Shrewsbury, and another of type V of Sudbury, a London penny of Henry I of type I, a Flag-type penny of York and district, a penny of Eustace Fitzjohn, a penny of Stephen and Matilda with facing busts on obverse, and a penny of Matilda of Bristol.

By MR. F. ELMORE JONES, ten pennies including one of William I of type II, reading BRHTPI ON MAINT, type VIII (Pax) pennies of Hythe, St. David's, Cricklade, Winchcombe, and Launceston, a William II penny of type II of Tamworth, a Henry I penny of type XIV of Pembroke and another of Twynham, and a penny of Stephen of type II of Rye.

By MR. H. H. KING, twenty-two very fine pence including William I, type I, Hastings (two different moneyers); type III, Chichester; type V, London; type VI, Chichester and Steyning; type VIII, Chichester (two different moneyers), Hastings, and Lewes. William II, types I and II, Hastings; type III, Chichester; type V, Steyning. Henry I, type VII, Hastings and Dover; type XIV, Chichester, Lewes, and Pevensey. Stephen, type I, Hastings; type II, Lewes and Rye.

ORDINARY MEETING

22 MARCH 1944

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

The President spoke of the pleasure it gave him and all present to see Mr. L. A. Lawrence at the meeting. The death was recorded of Mr. A. P. Cross, who joined the Society in 1931. Sir John Hanham, Bt., of the Guards' Club, and Harry Pegg, Esq., of Sunny Nook, Wollaton Road, Beeston, Notts., were nominated for membership and their papers were suspended. Messrs. Bert Clarke and Horace Hird were elected members of the Society.

Exhibitions

MR. L. A. LAWRENCE exhibited a noble and a half-noble, both mules, with an obverse of Edward III and a reverse of Richard II. He also showed a sovereign of 1925, the last year in which gold coins were struck in London for currency. Mr. Lawrence said that about three millions of these coins were struck and that they were used to discharge the country's debt to the U.S.A., and were consequently very rare here to-day.

THE PRESIDENT exhibited a groat of Edward V (or IV) with I.M. Sun-and-Rose with the A in *Civitas* unbarred, and a groat of Henry VII with no I.M. and two plain arches to the crown, a mullet after *Deum*, and after *Civitas*, and an unbarred A in *Adjutore*.

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY exhibited coins to illustrate his paper.

Paper

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY read a paper on "The Heraldic Cinquefoil Groats of Henry VII", in which he was able to establish a remarkable chain of die-links connecting every groat he had been able to discover of this issue.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 APRIL 1944

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. W. Tadgell, of the Great Northern Hotel, Station Road, Cambridge, was nominated for membership and his papers were suspended. Sir John Hanham, Bt., and Mr. H. Pegg were elected members of the Society.

The President announced that Mr. Wrightson, the Treasurer, had offered to donate some English coins to American soldiers interested in them if the Council approved of such action. Mr. J. Wallace offered to make this offer known by means of his association with the Services Clubs for the U.S.A. forces. The Acting-secretary was directed to write an appropriate reply to Mr. Wrightson.

Exhibitions

The session was devoted to an exhibition of Tealby and Short and Long Cross pennies, struck between 1154 and 1279.

THE PRESIDENT exhibited nearly 200 of these coins showing a great many varieties.

MR. T. M. TURNER showed eighteen coins of rare mints including a Tealby penny of Colchester, and a Short Cross (group IV) penny from the famous Colchester find of 1902.

He also exhibited for MR. J. CLIFFORD THOMPSON a Short Cross penny of Canterbury, and a Long Cross penny (group IIIb) of Exeter.

MR. H. H. KING exhibited seven Short Cross pennies and a cut half-penny of John, all of Chichester.

Mr. E. J. Winstanley exhibited for MR. ALBERT BALDWIN a Tealby penny of London in unusually fine state, and a Short Cross penny reading *Londe Civitas*.

ORDINARY MEETING

24 MAY 1944

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. W. Tadgell was elected a member of the Society. The Acting-secretary was directed suitably to acknowledge receipt to the author of a presentation copy of *Surrey Seventeenth Century Tokens*, by Wilfrid Hooper, LL.D., F.S.A.

Paper

A short paper by MR. C. A. WHITTON on "Die Links between Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III" was read by Mr. E. J. Winstanley. Mr. Whitton was able to show that all the groats and angels with obverse I.M. Boar's Head, and reading *Edward*, which he had been able to examine or which had been illustrated in the chief sale catalogues, showed that this initial mark had been struck over an original Sun-and-Rose. Holding Major Blunt's view that the Boar's Head alone appeared on obverses of Edward V, he was of opinion that this added mark represented Richard's determination to show his nephew's dependence for his position on his own protectorship.

MR. LOCKETT exhibited five groats of Edward IV or Edward V and some fourteen of Richard III in illustration of the paper. The paper is published in Part III of this volume of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 JUNE 1944

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

The death of Mr. T. L. Wasley of Norwich was reported to the Council.

The date coinciding with considerable activity in the new German aerial warfare, the meeting was brief. Mr. Whitton exhibited to the few members present some coins of Henry VI. In the absence of a quorum ordinary business could not be transacted.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 OCTOBER 1944

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

The President welcomed Miss Arnold as a visitor to the meeting. The following were nominated for membership and their papers suspended:

Mr. F. Pridmore, 46 High St., Skegness.

Mr. J. Y. Marshall, York House, Tiptree, Essex.

Dr. A. E. Johnstone, Brunswick House, Clayton, Manchester.

The Secretary reported the death of Capt. Paget of Bournemouth. The Treasurer presented the accounts for the year ending 31 October 1943 which were accepted.

Paper

DR. F. O. ARNOLD read a paper on "Coin Edges".

Exhibitions

DR. F. O. ARNOLD exhibited an extensive series of coins in illustration of his paper.

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY exhibited an angel of Henry VIII of the first issue with I.M. Pheon, and a Henry VII angel with a similar initial mark for comparison. He also showed a second coinage groat of Henry VIII with the Irish title and I.Ms. Pheon/Lis (*vide* Talbot Ready sale 533 and Murdoch sale I, 441), and a normal groat with Pheon both sides for comparison. This coin strengthens the view that the Lis mark was used twice during this issue. The same exhibitor showed a Calais penny and a London halfpenny of Henry VI of the Leaf-Mascle issue, and a penny of Edward I with obverse of Irish type and mint name of London.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

30 NOVEMBER 1944

MR. H. W. TAFFS, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. F. Pridmore, Mr. J. Y. Marshall, and Dr. A. E. Johnstone were elected members of the Society.

The Director reported that the late Captain Paget had bequeathed to the Society's Library his collection of numismatic books including a very useful series of bound sale catalogues.

The Treasurer's interim report was presented and adopted. The election of Officers and Council took place and the following were elected:

President: H. W. Taffs, Esq., M.B.E.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. Bagnall, Esq., Dr. E. C. Carter, Dr. A. N. Brushfield, Miss Helen Farquhar, H. H. King, Esq., R. C. Lockett, Esq.

Director: E. J. Winstanley, Esq.

Treasurer: A. G. Wrightson, Esq.

Librarian: E. J. Winstanley, Esq.

Secretary: T. M. Turner, Esq.

Assistant-secretary: C. A. Whitton, Esq.

Council: D. F. Allen, Esq., Dr. F. O. Arnold, Albert Baldwin, Esq., Lt.-Col. C. E. Blunt, L. Cabot Briggs, Esq., J. B. Caldecott, Esq., Dr. J. Davidson, Lt.-Col. C. L. Evans, Col. M. H. Grant, H. P. Hall, Esq., F. Elmore Jones, Esq., L. A. Lawrence, Esq., A. C. Strand, Esq., C. A. Whitton, Esq.

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1943

INCOME

[illegible]

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1943

[illegible]

We beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*,
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

17 May 1944.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1944

EXPENDITURE

1943

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
4	12	5	Printing and Stationery	6	12	2
5	3	7	Postages	4	3	4
57	15	10	Expenses of Meetings, Rent, &c.	56	18	0
5	16	9	Sundry Expenses	6	15	11
4	4	0	Library Expenses	2	12	0
96	2	8	Expenditure on account of <i>Journal</i>	19	6	
71	14	5	Balance Surplus, carried to General Purposes Fund	55	8	2

£245 9 8

£133 9 1

INCOME

1943

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
209	0	0	Subscriptions received for 1944	89	5	0			
			Subscriptions in arrear received during the year	1	1	0			
									90 6 0
			Donations:						
			A. E. Bagnall, Esq.	2	2	0			
			Miss H. L. Farquhar	1	1	0			
5	14	0	Dr. E. C. Carter	1	1	0			
									4 4 0
29	14	8	Interest received						34 9 7
1	1	0	Sale of Back Volumes						4 9 6

£245 9 8

£133 9 1

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1944

[illegible]

WE beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*,
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

7 December 1944.

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